



**DELHI UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**

ARTS LIBRARY
(DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SYSTEM)

Cl. No. W47 C5851

Ac. No. 375091

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of 10 paise will be collected for each day the book is kept overtime.

ALDOUS HUXLEY

Ends and Means

*An Enquiry
into the Nature of Ideals
and into the Methods employed
for their Realization*

1940

CHATTO & WINDUS

LONDON

By Aldous Huxley

*

NOVELS

After Many a Summer
Eyeless in Gaza
Brave New World
Point Counter Point
Those Barren Leaves
Antic Hay
Crome Yellow

SHORT STORIES

Brief Candles
Two or Three Graces
Little Mexican
Mortal Coils
Limbo

ESSAYS AND BELLES LETTRES

Music at Night
Vulgarity in Literature
Do What You Will
Proper Studies
Jesting Pilate
Along the Road
On the Margin
Texts and Pretexts
Beyond the Mexique Bay
The Olive Tree

POETRY

The Cicadas
Leda

DRAMA

The World of Light

SELECT WORKS

Rotunda

*

Chatto & Windus

ALDOUS HUXLEY

Ends and Means

*An Enquiry
into the Nature of Ideals
and into the Methods employed
for their Realization*

1940

CHATTO & WINDUS

LONDON

PUBLISHED BY
Chatto & Windus

LONDON

:
The Macmillan Company
of Canada, Limited
TORONTO

FIRST PUBLISHED : NOVEMBER 8, 1937

SECOND IMPRESSION : JANUARY, 1938

THIRD IMPRESSION : FEBRUARY, 1938

FOURTH IMPRESSION : AUGUST, 1938

FIFTH IMPRESSION : JANUARY, 1940

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN ; ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Contents

Chapter I. GOALS, ROADS AND CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT	<i>page</i> 1
II. THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION	11
III. EFFICACY AND LIMITATIONS OF LARGE- SCALE SOCIAL REFORM	16
IV. SOCIAL REFORM AND VIOLENCE	25
V. THE PLANNED SOCIETY	31
VI. NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE	56
VII. CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRAL- IZATION	61
VIII. DECENTRALIZATION AND SELF- GOVERNMENT	70
IX. WAR	89
X. INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM	126
XI. INEQUALITY	161
XII. EDUCATION	177
XIII. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES	225
XIV. BELIEFS	252
XV. ETHICS	303
INDEX	331

Chapter I

GOALS, ROADS AND CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT

ABOUT the ideal goal of human effort there exists in our civilization and, for nearly thirty centuries, there has existed a very general agreement. From Isaiah to Karl Marx the prophets have spoken with one voice. In the Golden Age to which they look forward there will be liberty, peace, justice and brotherly love. 'Nation shall no more lift sword against nation'; 'the free development of each will lead to the free development of all'; 'the world shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

With regard to the goal, I repeat, there is and for long has been a very general agreement. Not so with regard to the roads which lead to that goal. Here unanimity and certainty give place to utter confusion, to the clash of contradictory opinions, dogmatically held and acted upon with the violence of fanaticism.

There are some who believe—and it is a very popular belief at the present time—that the royal road to a better world is the road of economic reform. For some, the short cut to Utopia is military conquest and the hegemony of one particular nation; for others, it is armed revolution and the dictatorship of a particular class. All these think mainly in terms of social machinery and large-scale organization. There are others, however, who approach the problem from the opposite end, and believe that desirable social changes can be brought about most effectively by changing the individuals who compose society. Of the

ENDS AND MEANS

people who think in this way, some pin their faith to education, some to psycho-analysis, some to applied behaviourism. There are others, on the contrary, who believe that no desirable 'change of heart' can be brought about without supernatural aid. There must be, they say, a return to religion. (Unhappily, they cannot agree on the religion to which the return should be made.)

At this point it becomes necessary to say something about that ideal individual into whom the changers of heart desire to transform themselves and others. Every age and class has had its ideal. The ruling classes in Greece idealized the magnanimous man, a sort of scholar-and-gentleman. Kshatriyas in early India and feudal nobles in mediaeval Europe held up the ideal of the chivalrous man. The *honnête homme* makes his appearance as the ideal of seventeenth-century gentlemen; the *philosophe*, as the ideal of their descendants in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century idealized the respectable man. The twentieth has already witnessed the rise and fall of the liberal man and the emergence of the sheep-like social man and the god-like Leader. Meanwhile the poor and downtrodden have always dreamed nostalgically of a man ideally well-fed, free, happy and unoppressed.

Among this bewildering multiplicity of ideals which shall we choose? The answer is that we shall choose none. For it is clear that each one of these contradictory ideals is the fruit of particular social circumstances. To some extent, of course, this is true of every thought and aspiration that has ever been formulated. Some thoughts and aspirations, however, are manifestly less dependent on particular social circumstances than others. And here a significant fact emerges: all the ideals of human behaviour formulated by those who have been most successful in freeing themselves from the prejudices of their time and place are singularly alike. Liberation from prevailing con-

THE CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT

ventions of thought, feeling and behaviour is accomplished most effectively by the practice of disinterested virtues and through direct insight into the real nature of ultimate reality. (Such insight is a gift, inherent in the individual; but, though inherent, it cannot manifest itself completely except where certain conditions are fulfilled. The principal pre-condition of insight is, precisely, the practice of disinterested virtues.) To some extent critical intellect is also a liberating force. But the way in which intellect is used depends upon the will. Where the will is not disinterested, the intellect tends to be used (outside the non-human fields of technology, science or pure mathematics) merely as an instrument for the rationalization of passion and prejudice, the justification of self-interest. That is why so few even of the acutest philosophers have succeeded in liberating themselves completely from the narrow prison of their age and country. It is seldom indeed that they achieve as much freedom as the mystics and the founders of religion. The most nearly free men have always been those who combined virtue with insight.

Now, among these freest of human beings there has been, for the last eighty or ninety generations, substantial agreement in regard to the ideal individual. The enslaved have held up for admiration now this model of a man, now that; but at all times and in all places, the free have spoken with only one voice.

It is difficult to find a single word that will adequately describe the ideal man of the free philosophers, the mystics, the founders of religions. 'Non-attached' is perhaps the best. The ideal man is the non-attached man. Non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts. Non-attached to his craving for power and possessions. Non-attached to the objects of these various desires. Non-attached to his anger and hatred; non-attached to his exclusive loves.

ENDS AND MEANS

Non-attached to wealth, fame, social position. Non-attached even to science, art, speculation, philanthropy. Yes, non-attached even to these. For, like patriotism, in Nurse Cavell's phrase, 'they are not enough.' Non-attachment to self and to what are called 'the things of this world' has always been associated in the teachings of the philosophers and the founders of religions with attachment to an ultimate reality greater and more significant than the self. Greater and more significant than even the best things that this world has to offer. Of the nature of this ultimate reality I shall speak in the last chapters of this book. All that I need do in this place is to point out that the ethic of non-attachment has always been correlated with cosmologies that affirm the existence of a spiritual reality underlying the phenomenal world and imparting to it whatever value or significance it possesses.

Non-attachment is negative only in name. The practice of non-attachment entails the practice of all the virtues. It entails the practice of charity, for example; for there are no more fatal impediments than anger (even 'righteous indignation') and cold-blooded malice to the identification of the self with the immanent and transcendent more-than-self. It entails the practice of courage; for fear is a painful and obsessive identification of the self with its body. (Fear is negative sensuality, just as sloth is negative malice.) It entails the cultivation of intelligence; for insensitive stupidity is a main root of all the other vices. It entails the practice of generosity and disinterestedness; for avarice and the love of possessions constrain their victim to equate themselves with mere things. And so on. It is unnecessary any further to labour the point, sufficiently obvious to anyone who chooses to think about the matter, that non-attachment imposes upon those who would practise it the adoption of an intensely positive attitude towards the world.

THE CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT

The ideal of non-attachment has been formulated and systematically preached again and again in the course of the last three thousand years. We find it (along with everything else!) in Hinduism. It is at the very heart of the teachings of the Buddha. For the Chinese the doctrine is formulated by Lao Tsu. A little later, in Greece, the ideal of non-attachment is proclaimed, albeit with a certain pharisaic priggishness, by the Stoics. The Gospel of Jesus is essentially a gospel of non-attachment to 'the things of this world,' and of attachment to God. Whatever may have been the aberrations of organized Christianity—and they range from extravagant asceticism to the most brutally cynical forms of *realpolitik*—there has been no lack of Christian philosophers to reaffirm the ideal of non-attachment. Here is John Tauler, for example, telling us that 'freedom is complete purity and detachment which seeketh the Eternal; an isolated, a withdrawn being, identical with God or entirely attached to God.' Here is the author of *The Imitation*, who bids us 'pass through many cares as though without care; not after the manner of a sluggard, but by a certain prerogative of a free mind, which does not cleave with inordinate affection to any creature.' One could multiply such citations almost indefinitely. Meanwhile, moralists outside the Christian tradition have affirmed the need for non-attachment no less insistently than the Christians. What Spinoza, for example, calls 'blessedness' is simply the state of non-attachment; his 'human bondage,' the condition of one who identifies himself with his desires, emotions and thought-processes, or with their objects in the external world.

The non-attached man is one who, in Buddhist phraseology, puts an end to pain; and he puts an end to pain, not only in himself, but also, by refraining from malicious and stupid activity, to such pain as he may inflict on

ENDS AND MEANS

others. He is the happy or 'blessed' man as well as the good man.

A few moralists—of whom Nietzsche is the most celebrated and the Marquis de Sade the most uncompromisingly consistent—have denied the value of non-attachment. But these men are manifestly victims of their temperament and their particular social surroundings. Unable to practise non-attachment, they are unable to preach it; themselves slaves, they cannot even understand the advantages of freedom. They stand outside the great tradition of civilized Asiatic and European philosophy. In the sphere of ethical thought they are eccentrics. Similarly such victims of particular social circumstances as Machiavelli, Hegel and the contemporary philosophers of Fascism and dictatorial Communism, are eccentrics in the sphere of political thought.

Such, then, are the ideals for society and for the individual which were originally formulated nearly three thousand years ago in Asia, and which those who have not broken with the tradition of civilization still accept. In relation to these ideals, what are the relevant contemporary facts? They may be summed up very briefly. Instead of advancing towards the ideal goal, most of the peoples of the world are rapidly moving away from it.

'Real progress,' in the words of Dr. R. R. Marett, 'is progress in charity, all other advances being secondary thereto.' In the course of recorded history real progress has been made by fits and starts. Periods of advance in charity have alternated with periods of regression. The eighteenth century was an epoch of real progress. So was most of the nineteenth, in spite of the horrors of industrialism, or rather because of the energetic way in which its men of good will tried to put a stop to those horrors. The present age is still humanitarian in spots; but where

THE CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT

major political issues are concerned, it has witnessed a definite regression in charity.

Thus, eighteenth-century thinkers were unanimous in condemning the use of torture by the State. Not only is torture freely used by the rulers of twentieth-century Europe; there are also theorists who are prepared to justify every form of State-organized atrocity, from flogging and branding to the wholesale massacre of minorities and general war. Another painfully significant symptom is the equanimity with which the twentieth-century public responds to written accounts and even to photographs and moving pictures of slaughter and atrocity. By way of excuse it may be urged that, during the last twenty years, people have supped so full of horrors, that horrors no longer excite either their pity for the victims or their indignation against the perpetrators. But the fact of indifference remains; and because nobody bothers about horrors, yet more horrors are perpetrated.

Closely associated with the regression in charity is the decline in men's regard for truth. At no period of the world's history has organized lying been practised so shamelessly or, thanks to modern technology, so efficiently or on so vast a scale as by the political and economic dictators of the present century. Most of this organized lying takes the form of propaganda, inculcating hatred and vanity, and preparing men's minds for war. The principal aim of the liars is the eradication of charitable feelings and behaviour in the sphere of international politics.

Another point; charity cannot progress towards universality unless the prevailing cosmology is either monotheistic or pantheistic—unless there is a general belief that all men are 'the sons of God' or, in Indian phrase, that 'thou art that,' *tat tvam asi*. The last fifty years have witnessed a great retreat from monotheism towards idolatry. The worship of one God has been abandoned in favour of the

ENDS AND MEANS

worship of such local divinities as the nation, the class and even the deified individual.

Such is the world in which we find ourselves—a world which, judged by the only acceptable criterion of progress, is manifestly in regression. Technological advance is rapid. But without progress in charity, technological advance is useless. Indeed, it is worse than useless. Technological progress has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards.

How can the regression in charity through which we are living, and for which each one of us is in some measure responsible, be halted and reversed? How can existing society be transformed into the ideal society described by the prophets? How can the average sensual man and the exceptional (and more dangerous) ambitious man be transformed into those non-attached beings, who alone can create a society significantly better than our own? These are the questions which I shall try to answer in the present volume.

In the process of answering them, I shall be compelled to deal with a very great variety of subjects. Inevitably; for human activity is complex, human motivation exceedingly mixed. By many writers, this multifariousness of men's thoughts, opinions, purposes and actions is insufficiently recognized. Over-simplifying the problem, they prescribe an over-simplified solution. Because of this I have thought it necessary to preface the main arguments of the book with a discussion of the nature of explanation. What do we mean when we say that we have 'explained' a complex situation? What do we mean when we talk of one event being the cause of another? Unless we know the answer to these questions, our speculations regarding the nature and cure of social disorders are likely to be incomplete and one-sided.

Our discussion of the nature of explanation brings us

THE CONTEMPORARY STARTING-POINT

to the conclusion that causation in human affairs is multiple—in other words, that any given event has many causes. Hence it follows that there can be no single sovereign cure for the diseases of the body politic. The remedy for social disorder must be sought simultaneously in many different fields. Accordingly, in the succeeding chapters, I proceed to consider the most important of these fields of activity, beginning with the political and economic and proceeding to the fields of personal behaviour. In every case I suggest the kind of changes that must be made if men are to realize the ideal ends at which they all profess to be aiming. This involves us, incidentally, in a discussion of the relation of means to ends. Good ends, as I have frequently to point out, can be achieved only by the employment of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means, for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced.

These chapters, from the second to the twelfth, constitute a kind of practical cookery book of reform. They contain political recipes, economic recipes, educational recipes, recipes for the organization of industry, of local communities, of groups of devoted individuals. They also contain, by way of warning, descriptions of the way things ought not to be done—recipes for not realizing the ends one professes to desire, recipes for stultifying idealism, recipes for paving hell with good intentions.

This cookery book of reform culminates in the last section of the book, in which I discuss the relation existing between the theories and the practices of reformers on the one hand and the nature of the universe on the other. What sort of world is this, in which men aspire to good and yet so frequently achieve evil? What is the sense and point of the whole affair? What is man's place in it and how are his ideals, his systems of values, related to

ENDS AND MEANS

the universe at large? It is with such questions that I shall deal in the last three chapters. To the 'practical man' they may seem irrelevant. But in fact they are not. It is in the light of our beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality that we formulate our conceptions of right and wrong; and it is in the light of our conceptions of right and wrong that we frame our conduct, not only in the relations of private life, but also in the sphere of politics and economics. So far from being irrelevant, our metaphysical beliefs are the finally determining factor in all our actions. That is why it has seemed to me necessary to round off my cookery book of practical recipes with a discussion of first principles. The last three chapters are the most significant and, even from the purely practical point of view, the most important in the book.

Chapter II

THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION

ABOUT the goal, I repeat, there has for long been agreement. We know what sort of society we should like to be members of and what sort of men and women we should like to be. But when it comes to deciding how to reach the goal, the babel of conflicting opinions breaks loose. *Quot homines, tot sententiae*. Where ultimate ends are concerned, the statement is false; in regard to means, it is nearly true. Every one has his own patent medicine, guaranteed to cure all the ills of humanity; and so passionate, in many cases, is belief in the efficacy of the panacea that men are prepared, on its behalf, to kill and to be killed.

That men should cling so tenaciously to the dogmas they have invented or accepted, and that they should hate so passionately the people who have invented or accepted other dogmas, are facts that can be accounted for only too easily. Certainty is profoundly comforting, and hatred pays a high dividend in emotional excitement. It is less easy, however, to understand why such exclusive doctrines should ever arise, why the intellect, even when unblinded by passion, should be ready and even eager to regard them as true. It is worth while, in this context, to devote a few lines to the nature of explanation. In what does the process of explaining consist? And, in any given explanation, what is the quality which we find intellectually satisfying? These questions have been treated with great acuteness and an enormous wealth of learning by the late Emile Meyerson, from whose

ENDS AND MEANS

writings I have, in the ensuing paragraphs; freely borrowed.¹

The human mind has an invincible tendency to reduce the diverse to the identical. That which is given us, immediately, by our senses, is multitudinous and diverse. Our intellect, which hungers and thirsts after explanation, attempts to reduce this diversity to identity. Any proposition stipulating the existence of an identity underlying diverse phenomena, or persisting through time and change, seems to us intrinsically plausible. We derive a deep satisfaction from any doctrine which reduces irrational multiplicity to rational and comprehensible unity. To this fundamental psychological fact is due the existence of science, of philosophy, of theology. If we were not always trying to reduce diversity to identity, we should find it almost impossible to think at all. The world would be a mere chaos, an unconnected series of mutually irrelevant phenomena.

The effort to reduce diversity to identity can be, and generally is, carried too far. This is particularly true in regard to thinkers who are working in fields not subjected to the discipline of one of the well-organized natural sciences. Natural science recognizes the fact that there is a residue of irrational diversity which cannot be reduced to the identical and the rational. For example, it admits the existence of irreversible changes in time. When an irreversible change takes place, there is not an underlying identity between the state before and the state after the change. Science is not only the effort to reduce diversity to identity; it is also, among other things, the study of the irrational brute fact of becoming. There are two tendencies in science; the tendency towards identification and generalization and the tendency towards the exploration

¹ See *Du Cheminement de la Pensée* and *De l'Explication dans les Sciences*, by Emile Meyerson.

THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION

of brute reality, accompanied by a recognition of the specificity of phenomena.

Where thought is not subject to the discipline of one of the organized sciences, the first tendency—that towards identification and generalization—is apt to be allowed too much scope. The result is an excessive simplification. In its impatience to understand, its hunger and thirst after explanation, the intellect tends to impose more rationality upon the given facts than those facts will bear, tends to discover in the brute diversity of phenomena more identity than really exists in them—or at any rate more identity than a man can make use of in the practical affairs of life. For a being that can take the god's-eye view of things, certain diversities display an underlying identity. By the animal, on the contrary, they must be accepted for what they seem to be, specifically dissimilar. Man is a double being and can take, now the god's-eye view of things, now the brute's-eye view. For example, he can affirm that chalk and cheese are both composed of electrons, both perhaps more or less illusory manifestations of the Absolute. Such reduction of the diverse to the identical may satisfy our hunger for explanation; but we have bodies as well as intellects, and these bodies have a hunger for Stilton and a distaste for chalk. In so far as we are hungry and thirsty animals, it is important for us to know that there is a difference between what is wholesome and what is poisonous. Their reduction to an identity may be all right in the study; but in the dining-room it is extremely unhelpful.

Over-simplification in regard to such phenomena as chalk and cheese, as H_2O and H_2SO_4 , leads very rapidly to fatal results; it is rarely therefore that we make such over-simplifications. There are, however, other classes of phenomena in regard to which we can over-simplify with a certain measure of impunity. The penalty for such

ENDS AND MEANS

mistakes is not spectacular or immediate. In many cases, indeed, the makers of the mistake are not even aware that they are being punished; for the punishment takes the form not of a deprivation of a good which they already possess, but of the withholding of a good which they might have come to possess if they had not made the mistake. Consider, by way of example, that once very common over-simplification of the facts which consists in making God responsible for all imperfectly understood phenomena. Secondary causes are ignored and everything is referred back to the creator. No more wholesale reduction of diversity to identity is possible; and yet its effect is not immediately perceptible. Those who make the mistake of thinking in terms of a first cause are fated never to become men of science. But as they do not know what science is, they are not aware that they are losing anything.

To refer phenomena back to a first cause has ceased to be fashionable, at any rate in the West. The identities to which we try to reduce the complicated diversities around us are of a different order. For example, when we discuss society or individual human beings, we no longer make our over-simplifications in terms of the will of God, but of such entities as economics, or sex, or the inferiority complex. Excessive simplifications! But here again the penalty for making them is not immediate or obvious. Our punishment consists in our inability to realize our ideals, to escape from the social and psychological slough in which we wallow. We shall never deal effectively with our human problems until we follow the example of natural scientists and temper our longing for rational simplification by the recognition in things and events of a certain residue or irrationality, diversity and specificity. We shall never succeed in changing our age of iron into an age of gold until we give up our ambition to find a single cause for

THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION

all our ills, and admit the existence of many causes acting simultaneously, of intricate correlations and reduplicated actions and reactions. There is, as we have seen, a great variety of fanatically entertained opinions regarding the best way of reaching the desired goal. We shall be well advised to consider them all. To exalt any single one of them into an orthodoxy is to commit the fault of oversimplification. In these pages I shall consider some of the means which must be employed, and employed simultaneously, if we are to realize the end which the prophets and the philosophers have proposed for humanity—a free and just society, fit for non-attached men and women to be members of, and such, at the same time, as only non-attached men and women could organize.

Chapter III

EFFICACY AND LIMITATIONS OF LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL REFORM

AMONG people who hold what are called 'advanced opinions' there is a widespread belief that the ends we all desire can best be achieved by manipulating the structure of society. They advocate, not a 'change of heart' for individuals, but the carrying through of certain large-scale political and, above all, economic reforms.

Now, economic and political reform is a branch of what may be called preventive ethics. The aim of preventive ethics is to create social circumstances of such a nature that individuals will not be given opportunities for behaving in an undesirable, that is to say an excessively 'attached,' way.

Among the petitions most frequently repeated by Christians is the prayer that they may not be led into temptation. The political and economic reformer aims at answering that prayer. He believes that man's environment can be so well organized, that the majority of temptations will never arise. In the perfect society, the individual will practise non-attachment, not because he will be deliberately and consciously non-attached, but because he will never be given the chance of attaching himself. There is, it is obvious, much truth in the reformer's contention. In England, for example, far fewer murders are committed now than were committed in the past. This reduction in the murder rate is due to a number of large-scale reforms—to legislation restricting the sale and forbidding the carrying of arms; to the development of an efficient legal system which provides prompt redress to the victims of outrage.

LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL REFORM

Nor must we forget the change of manners (itself due to a great variety of causes) which has led to the disparagement of duelling and a new conception of personal honour. Similar examples might be cited indefinitely. Social reforms have unquestionably had the effects of reducing the number of temptations into which individuals may be led. (In a later paragraph, I shall consider the question of the new temptations which reforms may create.) When the absence of temptation has been prolonged for some time, an ethical habit is created; individuals come to think that the evil into which they are not led is something monstrous and hardly even thinkable. Generally, they take to themselves the credit that is really due to circumstances. Consider, for example, the question of cruelty. In England the legislation against cruelty to animals and, later, children and adults, was carried through, against indifference and even active opposition, by a small minority of earnest reformers. Removal of the occasions of indulging in and gloating over cruelty resulted after a certain time in the formation of a habit of humanitarianism. Thanks to this habit, Englishmen now feel profoundly shocked by the idea of cruelty and imagine that they themselves would be quite incapable of performing or watching cruel acts. This last belief is probably unfounded. There are many people who believe themselves to be fundamentally humane and actually behave as humanitarians, but who, if changed circumstance offered occasions for being cruel (especially if the cruelty were represented as a means to some noble end), would succumb to the temptation with enthusiasm. Hence the enormous importance of preserving intact any long-established habit of decency and restraint. Hence the vital necessity of avoiding war, whether international or civil. For war, if it is fought on a large scale, destroys more than the lives of individual men and women; it shakes the whole fabric of custom, of law, of mutual confidence,

ENDS AND MEANS

of unthinking and habitual decency and humaneness, upon which all forms of tolerable social life are based. The English are, on the whole, a good-humoured and kindly people. This is due, not to any extra dose of original virtue in them, but to the fact that the last successful invasion of their island took place in 1066 and their last civil war (a most mild and gentlemanlike affair) in 1688. It should be noted, moreover, that the kindliness of the English manifests itself only at home and in those parts of their empire where there has been for some time no war or threat of war. The Indians do not find their rulers particularly kindly. And, in effect, the ethical standards of Englishmen undergo a profound change as they pass from the essentially peaceful atmosphere of their own country into that of their conquered and militarily occupied Indian Empire. Things which would be absolutely unthinkable at home are not only thinkable, but do-able and actually done in India. The Amritsar massacre, for example. Long immunity from war and civil violence can do more to promote the common decencies of life than any amount of ethical exhortation. War and violence are the prime causes of war and violence. A country where, as in Spain, there is a tradition of civil strife, is far more liable to civil strife than one in which there exists a long habit of peaceful co-operation.

We see, then, that large-scale manipulation of the social order can do much to preserve individuals from temptations which, before the reforms were made, were ever present and almost irresistible. So far so good. But we must not forget that reforms may deliver men from one set of evils, only to lead them into evils of another kind. It often happens that reforms merely have the effect of transferring the undesirable tendencies of individuals from one channel to another channel. An old outlet for some particular wickedness is closed; but a new outlet is opened. The

LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL REFORM

wickedness is not abolished; it is merely provided with a different set of opportunities for self-expression. It would be possible to write a most illuminating History of Sin, showing the extent to which the various tendencies to bad behaviour have been given opportunities in the different civilizations of the world, enumerating the defects of every culture's specific virtues, tracing the successive metamorphoses of evil under changing technological and political conditions. Consider, by way of example, the recent history of that main source of evil, the lust for power, the craving for personal success and dominance. In this context we may describe the passage from mediaeval to modern conditions as a passage from violence to cunning, from the conception of power in terms of military prowess and the divine right of aristocracy to its conception in terms of finance. In the earlier period the sword and the patent of nobility are at once the symbols and the instruments of domination. In the later period their place is taken by money. Recently the lust for power has come to express itself once again in ways that are almost mediaeval. In the Fascist states there has been a return towards rule by the sword and by divine right. True, the right is that of self-appointed leaders rather than that of hereditary aristocrats; but it is still essentially divine. Mussolini is infallible; Hitler, appointed by God. In collectivized Russia a system of state capitalism has been established. Private ownership of the means of production has disappeared and it has become impossible for individuals to use money as a means for dominating their fellows. But this does not mean that the lust for power has been suppressed; rather it has been deflected from one channel to another channel. Under the new regime the symbol and the instrument of power is political position. Men seek, not wealth, but a strategic post in the hierarchy. How ruthlessly they would fight for these strategic posts was shown during the treason

ENDS AND MEANS

trials of 1936 and 1937. In Russia, and to a certain extent in the other dictatorial countries, the situation is very similar to that which existed in the religious orders, where position was more important than money. Among the Communists ambition has been more or less effectively divorced from avarice, and the lust of power manifests itself in a form which is, so to say, chemically pure.

This is the cue for smiling indulgently and saying: 'You can't change human nature.' To which the anthropologist replies by pointing out that human nature has in fact been made to assume the most bewilderingly diverse, the most amazingly improbable forms. It is possible to arrange a society in such a way that even so fundamental a tendency as the lust for power cannot easily find expression. Among the Zuñi Indians, for example, individuals are not led into the kind of temptation which invites the men of our civilization to work for fame, wealth, social position or power. By us, success is always worshipped. But among the Zuñis it is such bad form to pursue personal distinction that very few people even think of trying to raise themselves above their fellows, while those who try are regarded as dangerous sorcerers and punished accordingly. There are no Hitlers, no Kreugers, no Napoleons and no Calvins. The lust for power is simply not given an opportunity for expressing itself. In the tranquil and well-balanced communities of the Zuñis and other Pueblo Indians all those outlets for personal ambition—the political, the financial, the military, the religious outlets with which our own history has made us so painfully familiar—are closed.

The pattern of Pueblo culture is one which a modern industrialized society could not possibly copy. Nor, even if it were possible, would it be desirable that we should choose these Indian societies as our model. For the Pueblo Indians' triumph over the lust for power has been

LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL REFORM

secured at an excessive cost. Individuals do not scramble for wealth and position, as with us; but they purchase these advantages at a great price. They are weighed down under a great burden of religious tradition; they are attached to all that is old and terrified of all that is novel and unfamiliar; they spend an enormous amount of time and energy in the performance of magic rites and the repetition, by rote, of interminable formulas. Using the language of theology, we can say that the deadly sins to which *we* are peculiarly attached are pride, avarice and malice. *Their* special attachment is to sloth—above all to the mental sloth, or stupidity, against which the Buddhist moralists so insistently warn their disciples. The problem which confronts us is this: can we combine the merits of our culture with those of the Pueblo culture? Can we create a new pattern of living in which the defects of the two contrasted patterns, Pueblo-Indian and Western-Industrial, shall be absent? Is it possible for us to acquire their admirable habits of non-attachment to wealth and personal success and at the same time to preserve our intellectual alertness, our interest in science, our capacity for making rapid technological progress and social change?

These are questions which it is impossible to answer with any degree of confidence. Only experience and deliberate experiment can tell us if our problem can be completely solved. All we certainly know is that, up to the present, scientific curiosity and a capacity for making rapid social changes have always been associated with frequent manifestations of the lust for power and the worship of success.¹ As a matter of historical fact, scientific progressiveness has never been divorced from aggressiveness. Does this mean that they can never be

¹ See in the last chapter the discussion of the relations existing between enforced sexual continence and social energy.

ENDS AND MEANS

divorced? Not necessarily. Every culture is full of arbitrary and fortuitous associations of behaviour-patterns, thought-patterns, feeling-patterns. These associations may last for long periods and are regarded, while they endure, as necessary, natural, right, inherent in the scheme of things. But a time comes when, under the pressure of changing circumstances, these long-standing associations fall apart and give place to others, which in due course come to seem no less natural, necessary and right than the old. Let us consider a few examples. In the richer classes of mediaeval and early modern European society there was a very close association between thoughts and habits concerned with sex and thoughts and habits concerned with property and social position. The mediaeval nobleman married a fief, the early-modern bourgeois married a dowry. Kings married whole countries and, by judiciously choosing their bedfellows, could build up an empire. And not only did the wife represent property; she also *was* property. The ferocious jealousies which it was traditionally right and proper to feel, were due at least as much to an outraged property sense as to a thwarted sexual passion. Hurt pride and offended avarice combined with wounded love to produce the kind of jealousy that could be satisfied only with the blood of the unfaithful spouse. Meanwhile the faithful spouse was ornamented and bejewelled, occasionally no doubt out of genuine affection, but more often and chiefly to gratify the husband's desire for self-glorification. The sumptuously attired wife was a kind of walking advertisement for her owner's wealth and social position. The tendency towards what Veblen calls 'conspicuous consumption' came to be associated in these cultures with the pattern of sexual behaviour. I have used the past tense in the preceding passage. But in fact this association of conspicuous consumption with matrimony—and also with fornication—

LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL REFORM

is still characteristic of our societies. In the other cases, however, there has been a considerable measure of dissociation. Spouses do not regard one another as private property to quite the same extent as in the past; consequently it no longer seems natural and right to murder an unfaithful partner. The idea of a wholly gratuitous sexual union, unconnected with dowries and settlements, is now frequently entertained even among the rich. Conversely there is a quite general belief that even married people may be sexually attached to one another. This was not so in the time of the troubadours; for, in the words of a recent historian of chivalry, chivalrous love was 'a gigantic system of bigamy.' Love and marriage were completely dissociated.

There are many other associations of thought-patterns, feeling-patterns and action-patterns which have seemed in their time inevitable and natural, but which at other times or in other places have not existed at all. Thus, art has sometimes been associated with religion (as in Europe during the Middle Ages or among the ancient Mayas); sometimes, on the other hand, it has not been associated with religion (as among certain tribes of American Indians and among Europeans during the last three centuries). Similarly commerce, agriculture, sex, eating have sometimes been associated with religion, sometimes not. There are some societies where almost all activities are associated with negative emotions, where it is socially correct and morally praiseworthy to feel chronically suspicious, envious and malevolent. There are others in which it is no less right to feel positive emotions. And so on, almost indefinitely.

Now, it may be that progressiveness and aggressiveness are associated in the same sort of arbitrary and fortuitous way as are the various pairs of thought-habits and action-habits mentioned above. It may be, on the other hand,

ENDS AND MEANS

that this association has its roots in the depth of human psychology and that it will prove very difficult or even impossible to separate these two conjoined tendencies. This is a matter about which one cannot dogmatize. All that one can say with certainty is that the association need not be quite so complete as it is at present.

Let us sum up and draw our conclusions. First, then, we see that 'unchanging human nature' is not unchanging, but can be, and very frequently has been, profoundly changed. Second, we see that many, perhaps most, of the observed associations of behaviour-patterns in human societies can be dissociated and their elements reassociated in other ways. Third, we see that large-scale manipulations of the social structure can bring about certain 'changes in human nature,' but that these changes are rarely fundamental. They do not abolish evil; they merely deflect it into other channels. But if the ends we all desire are to be achieved, there must be more than a mere deflection of evil; there must be suppression at the source, in the individual will. Hence it follows that large-scale political and economic reform is not enough. The attack upon our ideal objective must be made, not only on this front, but also and at the same time on all the others. Before considering what will have to be done on these other fronts, I must describe in some detail the strategy and tactics of attack upon the front of large-scale reform.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL REFORM AND VIOLENCE

THE more violence, the less revolution.' This dictum of Barthélemy de Ligt's is one on which it is profitable to meditate.¹

To be regarded as successful, a revolution must be the achievement of something new. But violence and the effects of violence—counter-violence, suspicion and resentment on the part of the victims and the creation, among the perpetrators, of a tendency to use more violence—are things only too familiar, too hopelessly unrevolutionary. A violent revolution cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence, which are as old as the hills.

Or let us put the matter in another way. No revolution can be regarded as successful if it does not lead to progress. Now, the only real progress, to quote Dr. Marett's words once more, is progress in charity. Is it possible to achieve progress in charity by means that are essentially uncharitable? If we dispassionately consider our personal experience and the records of history, we must conclude that it is not possible. But so strong is our desire to believe that there is a short cut to Utopia, so deeply prejudiced are we in favour of people of similar opinions to our own, that we are rarely able to command the necessary dispassion. We insist that ends which we believe to be good can justify means which we know quite certainly to be abominable; we go on believing, against

¹ See *Pour Vaincre sans Violence* (English Translation published by Routledge) and *La Paix Créatrice*, by B. de Ligt.

ENDS AND MEANS

all the evidence, that these bad means can achieve the good ends we desire. The extent to which even highly intelligent people can deceive themselves in this matter is well illustrated by the following words from Professor Laski's little book on Communism. 'It is patent,' he writes, 'that without the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins, the republic would have been destroyed.' To anyone who candidly considers the facts it seems even more patent that it was precisely because of the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins that the republic was destroyed. Iron dictatorship led to foreign war and reaction at home. War and reaction between them resulted in the creation of a military dictatorship. Military dictatorship resulted in yet more wars. These wars served to intensify nationalistic sentiment throughout the whole of Europe. Nationalism became crystallized in a number of new idolatrous religions dividing the world. (The Nazi creed, for example, is already implicit and even, to a great extent, fully explicit in the writings of Fichte.) To nationalism we owe military conscription at home and imperialism abroad. 'Without the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins,' says Professor Laski, 'the republic would have been destroyed.' A fine sentiment! Unfortunately there are also the facts. The first significant fact is that the republic *was* destroyed and that the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins was the prime cause of its destruction. Nor was this the only piece of mischief for which the Jacobin dictatorship was responsible. It led to the futile waste and slaughter of the Napoleonic wars; to the imposition in perpetuity of military slavery, or conscription, upon practically all the countries of Europe; and to the rise of those nationalistic idolatries which threaten the existence of our civilization. A fine record! And yet would-be revolutionaries persist in believing that, by methods essentially similar to those employed by the Jacobins, they will succeed in producing

SOCIAL REFORM AND VIOLENCE

such totally dissimilar results as social justice and peace between nations.

Violence cannot lead to real progress unless, by way of compensation and reparation, it is followed by non-violence, by acts of justice and good will. In such cases, however, it is the compensatory behaviour that achieves the progress, not the violence which that behaviour was intended to compensate. For example, in so far as the Roman conquest of Gaul and the British conquest of India resulted in progress (and it is hard to say whether they did, and quite impossible to guess whether an equal advance might not have been achieved without those conquests), that progress was entirely due to the compensatory behaviour of Roman and British administrators after the violence was over. Where compensatory good behaviour does not follow the original act of violence, as was the case in the countries conquered by the Turks, no real progress is achieved. (In cases where violence is pushed to its limits and the victims are totally exterminated, the slate is wiped clean and the perpetrators of violence are free to begin afresh on their own account. This was the way in which, rejecting Penn's humaner alternative, the English settlers in North America solved the Red Indian problem. Abominable in itself, this policy is practicable only in underpopulated countries.)

The longer violence has been used, the more difficult do the users find it to perform compensatory acts of non-violence. A tradition of violence is formed; men come to accept a scale of values according to which acts of violence are reckoned heroic and virtuous. When this happens, as it happened, for example, with the Vikings and the Tartars, as the dictators seem at present to be trying to make it happen with the Germans, Italians and Russians, there is small prospect that the effects of violence will be made good by subsequent acts of justice and kindness.

ENDS AND MEANS

From what has gone before it follows that no reform is likely to achieve the results intended unless it is, not only well intentioned, but also opportune. To carry through a social reform which, in the given historical circumstances, will create so much opposition as to necessitate the use of violence is criminally rash. For the chances are that any reform which requires violence for its imposition will not only fail to produce the good results anticipated, but will actually make matters worse than they were before. Violence, as we have seen, can produce only the effects of violence; these effects can be undone only by compensatory non-violence after the event; where violence has been used for a long period, a habit of violence is formed and it becomes exceedingly difficult for the perpetrators of violence to reverse their policy. Moreover, the results of violence are far-reaching beyond the wildest dreams of the often well-intentioned people who resort to it. The 'iron dictatorship' of the Jacobins resulted, as we have seen, in military tyranny, twenty years of war, conscription in perpetuity for the whole of Europe, the rise of nationalistic idolatry. In our own time the long-drawn violence of Tsarist oppression and the acute, catastrophic violence of the World War produced the 'iron dictatorship' of the Bolsheviks. The threat of world-wide revolutionary violence begot Fascism; Fascism produced rearmament; rearmament has entailed the progressive de-liberalization of the democratic countries. What the further results of Moscow's 'iron dictatorship' will be, time alone will show. At the present moment (June 1937) the outlook is, to say the least of it, exceedingly gloomy.

If, then, we wish to make large-scale reforms which will not stultify themselves in the process of application, we must choose our measures in such a way that no violence or, at the worst, very little violence will be needed to enforce them. (It is worth noting in this context that

SOCIAL REFORM AND VIOLENCE

reforms carried out under the stimulus of the fear of violence from foreign neighbours and with the aim of using violence more efficiently in future international wars are just as likely to be self-stultifying in the long run as reforms which cannot be enforced except by a domestic terror. The dictators have made many large-scale changes in the structure of the societies they govern without having had to resort to terrorism. The population gave consent to these changes because it had been persuaded by means of intensive propaganda that they were necessary to make the country safe against 'foreign aggression.' Some of these changes have been in the nature of desirable reforms; but in so far as they were calculated to make the country more efficient as a war-machine, they tended to provoke other countries to increase their military efficiency and so to make the coming of war more probable. But the nature of modern war is such that it is unlikely that any desirable reform will survive the catastrophe. Thus it will be seen that intrinsically desirable reforms, accepted without opposition, may yet be self-stultifying if the community is persuaded to accept them by means of propaganda that plays upon its fear of future violence on the part of others, or stresses the glory of future violence when successfully used by itself.) Returning to our main theme, which is the need for avoiding domestic violence during the application of reforms, we see that a reform may be intrinsically desirable, but so irrelevant to the existing historical circumstances as to be practically useless. This does not mean that we should make the enormous mistake committed by Hegel and gleefully repeated by every modern tyrant with crimes to justify and follies to rationalize—the mistake that consists in affirming that the real is the rational, that the historical is the same as the ideal. The real is not the rational; and whatever is, is not right. At any given moment of history, the real, as we

ENDS AND MEANS

know it, contains certain elements of the rational, laboriously incorporated into its structure by patient human effort; among the things that are, some are righter than others. Accordingly, plain common sense demands that, when we make reforms, we shall take care to preserve all such constituents of the existing order as are valuable. Nor is this all. Change as such is to most human beings more or less acutely distressing. This being so, we shall do well to preserve even those elements of the existing order which are neither particularly harmful nor particularly valuable, but merely neutral. Human conservatism is a fact in any given historical situation. Hence it is very important that social reformers should abstain from making unnecessary changes or changes of startling magnitude. Wherever possible, familiar institutions should be extended or developed so as to produce the results desired; principles already accepted should be taken over and applied to a wider field. In this way the amount and intensity of opposition to change and, along with it, the risk of having to use measures of violence would be reduced to a minimum.

Chapter V

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

BEFORE the World War only Fabians talked about a planned society. During the War all the belligerent societies were planned, and (considering the rapidity with which the work was done) planned very effectively, for the purpose of carrying on the hostilities. Immediately after the War there was a reaction, natural enough in the circumstance, against planning. The depression produced a reaction against that reaction, and since 1929 the idea of planning has achieved an almost universal popularity. Meanwhile planning has been undertaken, systematically and on a large scale in the totalitarian states, piecemeal in the democratic countries. A flood of literature on social planning pours continuously from the presses. Every 'advanced' thinker has his favourite scheme, and even quite ordinary people have caught the infection. Planning is now in fashion. Not without justification. Our world is in a bad way, and it looks as though it would be impossible to rescue it from its present plight, much less improve it, except by deliberate planning. Admittedly this is only an opinion; but there is every reason to suppose that it is well founded. Meanwhile, however, it is quite certain, because observably a fact, that in the process of trying to save our world or part of it from its present confusion, we run the risk of planning it into the likeness of hell and ultimately into complete destruction. There are cures which are worse than disease.

Some kind of deliberate planning is necessary. But which kind and how much? We cannot answer these questions,

ENDS AND MEANS

cannot pass judgment on any given scheme, except by constantly referring back to our ideal postulates. In considering any plan we must ask whether it will help to transform the society to which it is applied into a just, peaceable, morally and intellectually progressive community of non-attached and responsible men and women. If so, we can say that the plan is a good one. If not, we must pronounce it to be bad.

In the contemporary world there are two classes of bad plans—the plans invented and put into practice by men who do not accept our ideal postulates, and the plans invented and put into practice by the men who accept them, but imagine that the ends proposed by the prophets can be achieved by wicked or unsuitable means. Hell is paved with good intentions, and it is probable that plans made by well-meaning people of the second class may have results no less disastrous than plans made by the evil-intentioned people of the first class. Which only shows, yet once more, how right the Buddha was in classing unawareness and stupidity among the deadly sins.

Let us consider a few examples of bad plans belonging to these two classes. In the first class we must place all Fascist and all specifically militaristic plans. Fascism, in the words of Mussolini, believes that 'war alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it.' Again, 'a doctrine which is founded upon the harmful postulate of peace is hostile to Fascism.' The Fascist, then, is one who believes that the bombardment of open towns with fire, poison and explosives (in other words, modern war) is intrinsically good. He is one who rejects the teaching of the prophets and believes that the best society is a national society living in a state of chronic hostility towards other national societies and

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

preoccupied with ideas of rapine and slaughter. He is one who despises the non-attached individual and holds up for admiration the person who, in obedience to the boss who happens at the moment to have grabbed political power, systematically cultivates all the passions (pride, anger, envy, hatred) which the philosophers and the founders of religions have unanimously condemned as the most maleficent, the least worthy of human beings. All Fascist planning has one ultimate aim: to make the national society more efficient as a war-machine. Industry, commerce and finance are controlled for this purpose. The manufacture of substitutes is encouraged in order that the country may be self-sufficient in time of war. Tariffs and quotas are imposed, export bounties distributed, exchanges depreciated for the sake of gaining a momentary advantage or inflicting loss upon some rival. Foreign policy is conducted on avowedly Machiavellian principles; solemn engagements are entered into with the knowledge that they will be broken the moment it seems advantageous to do so; international law is invoked when it happens to be convenient, repudiated when it imposes the least restraint on the nation's imperialistic designs. Meanwhile the dictator's subjects are systematically educated to be good citizens of the Fascist state. Children are subjected to authoritarian discipline that they may grow up to be simultaneously obedient to superiors and brutal to those below them. On leaving the kindergarten, they begin that military training which culminates in the years of conscription and continues until the individual is too decrepit to be an efficient soldier. In school they are taught extravagant lies about the achievements of their ancestors, while the truth about other peoples is either distorted or completely suppressed. The press is controlled, so that adults may learn only what it suits the dictator that they should learn. Anyone expressing un-

ENDS AND MEANS

orthodox opinions is ruthlessly persecuted. Elaborate systems of police espionage are organized to investigate the private life and opinions of even the humblest individual. Delation is encouraged, tale-telling rewarded. Terrorism is legalized. Justice is administered in secret; the procedure is unfair, the penalties barbarously cruel. Brutality and torture are regularly employed.

Such is Fascist planning—the planning of those who reject the ideal postulates of Christian civilization and of the older Asiatic civilizations which preceded it and from which it derived—the planning of men whose intentions are avowedly bad. Let us now consider examples of planning by political leaders who accept the ideal postulates, whose intentions are good. The first thing to notice is that none of these men accepts the ideal postulates wholeheartedly. All believe that desirable ends can be achieved by undesirable means. Aiming to reach goals diametrically opposed to those of Fascism, they yet persist in taking the same roads as are taken by the Duces and Fuehrers. They are pacifists, but pacifists who act on the theory that peace can be achieved by means of war; they are reformers and revolutionaries, but reformers who imagine that unfair and arbitrary acts can produce social justice, revolutionaries who persuade themselves that the centralization of power and the enslavement of the masses can result in liberty for all. Revolutionary Russia has the largest army in the world; a secret police, that for ruthless efficiency rivals the German or the Italian; a rigid press censorship; a system of education that, since Stalin ‘reformed’ it, is as authoritarian as Hitler’s; an all-embracing system of military training that is applied to women and children as well as men; a dictator as slavishly adored as the man-gods of Rome and Berlin; a bureaucracy, solidly entrenched as the new ruling class and employing the powers of the State to preserve its privileges and protect its vested interests;

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

an oligarchical party which dominates the entire country and within which there is no freedom even for faithful members. (Most ruling castes are democracies so far as their own members are concerned. Not so the Russian Communist Party, in which the Central Executive Committee, acting through the Political Department, can override or altogether liquidate any district organization whatsoever.) No opposition is permitted in Russia. But where opposition is made illegal, it automatically goes underground and becomes conspiracy. Hence the treason trials and purges of 1936 and 1937. Large-scale manipulations of the social structure are pushed through against the wishes of the people concerned and with the utmost ruthlessness. (Several million peasants were deliberately starved to death in 1933 by the Soviet planners.) Ruthlessness begets resentment; resentment must be kept down by force. As usual the chief result of violence is the necessity to use more violence. Such then is Soviet planning—well-intentioned, but making use of evil means that are producing results utterly unlike those which the original makers of the revolution intended to produce.

In the bourgeois democratic countries the need for using intrinsically good means to achieve desirable ends is more clearly realized than in Russia. But even in these countries enormous mistakes have been made in the past and still greater, still more dangerous mistakes are in process of being committed to-day. Most of these mistakes are due to the fact that, though professing belief in our ideal postulates, the rulers and people of these countries are, to some extent and quite incompatibly, also militarists and nationalists. The English and the French, it is true, are sated militarists whose chief desire is to live a quiet life, holding fast to what they seized in their unregenerate days of imperial highway-robbery. Confronted by rivals who want to do now what they were doing from the beginning

ENDS AND MEANS

of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, they profess and doubtless genuinely feel a profound moral indignation. Meanwhile, they have begun to address themselves, reluctantly but with determination, to the task of beating the Fascist powers at their own game. Like the Fascist states, they are preparing for war. But modern war cannot be waged or even prepared except by a highly centralized executive wielding absolute power over a docile people. Most of the planning which is going on in the democratic countries is planning designed to transform these countries into the likeness of totalitarian communities organized for slaughter and rapine. Hitherto this transformation has proceeded fairly slowly. Belief in our ideal postulates has acted as a brake on fascization, which has had to advance gradually and behind a smoke-screen. But if war is declared, or even if the threat of war becomes more serious than at present, the process will become open and rapid. 'The defence of democracy against Fascism' entails inevitably the transformation of democracy into Fascism.

Most of the essays in large-scale planning attempted by the democratic powers have been dictated by the desire to achieve military efficiency. Thus, the attempt to co-ordinate the British Empire into a self-sufficient economic unit was a piece of planning mainly dictated by military considerations. Still more specifically military in character have been the plans applied to the armament industries, not only in Great Britain, but also in France and the other democratic countries, for the purpose of increasing production. Like the Fascist plans for heightening military efficiency such essays in planning are bound to make matters worse, not better. By transforming the British Empire from a Free Trade area into a private property protected by tariff walls, the governments concerned have made it absolutely certain that foreign hostility to the

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

Empire shall be greatly increased. While the English possessed undisputed command of the sea, they conciliated world opinion by leaving the doors of their colonies wide open to foreign trade. Now that command of the sea has been lost, those doors are closed. In other words, England invites the world's hostility at the very moment when it has ceased to be in a position to defy that hostility. Greater folly could scarcely be imagined. But those who think in terms of militarism inevitably commit such follies.

Consider the second case. Rearmament at the present rate and on the present enormous scale must have one of two results. Either there will be general war within a very short time; for *si vis bellum, para bellum*. Or, if war is postponed for a few years, the present rate of rearmament will have to be slowed down and an economic depression at least as grave as that of 1929 will descend upon the world. Economic depression will create unrest; unrest will speed up the fascization of the democratic countries; the fascization of the democratic countries will increase the present probability of war to an absolute certainty. So much for planning undertaken for specifically military purposes.

Many pieces of planning, however, have not been specifically military in character. They have been devised by governments primarily for the purpose of counter-acting the effects of economic depression. But, unfortunately, under the present dispensation, such plans must be conceived and carried out in the context of militarism and nationalism. This context imparts to every plan in the international field a quality that, however good the intentions of the planners, is essentially militaristic. (Here it is worth while to enunciate a general truth, which the older anthropologists, such as Frazer, completely failed to grasp—the truth that a given habit, rite, tradition takes

ENDS AND MEANS

on its peculiar significance from its context. Two peoples may have what is, according to Frazerian ideas, the same custom; but this does not mean that the custom in question will signify the same thing to these two peoples. If the contexts in which this 'identical' custom is placed happen to be different—as in fact they generally are—then it will carry widely different significances for the two peoples. Applying this generalization to our particular problem, we see that a non-militaristic plan carried out in a militaristic context is likely to have a significance and results quite different from the significance and results of the same plan in a non-militaristic context.)

Owing to the fact that even the democratic peoples are to some extent militarists and devotees of the idolatry of exclusive nationalism, almost all the economic planning undertaken by their governments has seemed to foreign observers imperialistic in character and has in fact resulted in a worsening of the international situation. Governments have used tariffs, export bounties, quotas and exchange devaluation as devices for improving the lot of their subjects; in the context of the world as it is to-day, these plans have seemed to other nations acts of deliberate ill-will meriting reprisals in kind. Reprisals have led to counter-reprisals. International exchanges have become more and more difficult. Consequently yet further planning has had to be resorted to by each of the governments concerned for the protection of its own subjects—yet further planning which arouses yet bitterer resentment abroad and so brings war yet a little nearer.

We are confronted here by the great paradox of contemporary planning. Comprehensive planning by individual nations results in international chaos, and the degree of international chaos is in exact proportion to the number, completeness and efficiency of the separate national plans.

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

During the nineteenth and the first years of the twentieth century economic exchanges between the nations were carried on with remarkable smoothness. National economies were everywhere unplanned. The individuals who carried on international trade were forced in their own interest to conform to the rules of the game, as developed in the City of London. If they failed to conform, they were ruined and that was an end of it. Here we have the converse of the paradox formulated above. National planlessness in economic matters results in international economic co-ordination.

We are on the horns of a dilemma. In every country large numbers of people are suffering privations owing to defects in the economic machine. These people must be helped, and if they are to be helped effectively and permanently, the economic machine must be re-planned. But economic planning undertaken by a national government for the benefit of its own people inevitably disturbs that international economic harmony which is the result of national planlessness. In the process of planning for the benefit of their respective peoples, national governments impede the flow of international trade, enter into new forms of international rivalry and create fresh sources of international discord. During the last few years most of the governments of the world have had to choose between two almost equal evils. Either they could abandon the victims of economic maladjustment to their fate; but such a course was shocking to decent sentiment and, since the sufferers might vote against the government or even break out into violent revolt, politically dangerous. Or else they might help the sufferers by imposing a governmental plan upon the economic activity of their respective countries; but in this case they reduced the system of international exchanges to chaos and increased the probability of general war.

ENDS AND MEANS

Between the horns of this dilemma a way lies obviously and invitingly open. The various national governments can take counsel together and co-ordinate their activities, so that one national plan shall not interfere with the workings of another. But, unfortunately, under the present dispensation, this obvious and eminently sensible course cannot be taken. The Fascist states do not pretend to want peace and international co-operation, and even those democratic governments which make the loudest professions of pacifism are at the same time nationalistic, militaristic and imperialistic. Twentieth-century political thinking is incredibly primitive. The nation is personified as a living being with passions, desires, susceptibilities. The National Person is superhuman in size and energy but completely sub-human in morality. Ordinarily decent behaviour cannot be expected of the National Person, who is thought of as incapable of patience, forbearance, forgiveness and even of common sense and enlightened self-interest. Men, who in private life behave as reasonable and moral beings, become transformed as soon as they are acting as representatives of a National Person into the likeness of their stupid, hysterical and insanely touchy tribal divinity. This being so, there is little to be hoped for at the present time from general international conferences. No scheme of co-ordinated international planning can be carried through, unless all nations are prepared to sacrifice some of their sovereign rights. But it is in the highest degree improbable that all or even a majority of nations will consent to this sacrifice.

In these circumstances the best and most obvious road between the horns of our dilemma must be abandoned in favour of roads more devious and intrinsically less desirable. National planning results, as we have seen, in disorder in the field of international exchanges and political friction. This state of things can be remedied, at least partially, in

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

one or both of two ways. In the first place, schemes of partial international co-ordination can be arranged between such governments as can agree upon them. This has already been done in the case of the Sterling Bloc, which is composed of countries whose rulers have decided that it is worth while to co-ordinate their separate national plans so that they shall not interfere with one another. There is a possibility that, in due course, other governments might find it to their interest to join such a confederation. On this point, however, it is unwise to be too optimistic. Time may demonstrate the advantages of international co-operation; but meanwhile time is also fortifying the vested interests which have been created under the various national plans. To participate in a scheme of international co-operation may be to the general advantage of a nation; but it is certainly not to the advantage of each one of the particular interests within the nation. If those particular interests are politically powerful, the general advantage of the nation as a whole will be sacrificed to their private advantages.

The second way of reducing international economic disorder and political friction is more drastic. It consists in making nations as far as possible economically independent of one another. In this way the number of contacts between nations would be minimized. But since, in the present state of nationalistic sentiment, international contacts result only too frequently in international friction and the risk of war, this reduction in the number of international contacts would probably mean a lessening of the probability of war.

To the orthodox Free Trader such a suggestion must seem grotesque and almost criminal. 'The facts of geography and geology are unescapable. Nations are differently endowed. Each is naturally fitted to perform a particular task; therefore it is right that there should be division of

ENDS AND MEANS

labour among them. Countries should exchange the commodities they produce most easily against the commodities which they cannot produce or can produce only with difficulty, but which can be easily produced elsewhere.' So runs the Free Trader's argument; and an eminently sensible argument it is—or, perhaps it would be truer to say, it was. For those who now make use of it fail to take account of two things: namely, the recent exacerbation of nationalistic feeling and the progress of technology. For the sake of prestige and out of fear of what might happen during war-time, most governments now desire, whatever the cost and however great the natural handicaps, to produce within their own territory as many as possible of the commodities produced more easily elsewhere. Nor is this all: the progress of technology has made it possible for governments to fulfil such wishes, at any rate to a considerable extent, in practice. To the orthodox Free Trader the ideal of national self-sufficiency is absurd. But it can already be realized in part and will be more completely realizable with every advance in technology. A single national government may be able to prevent technological discoveries from being developed in its territories. But it cannot prevent them from being developed elsewhere; and when they have been developed, such advantages accrue that even the most conservative are forced to adopt the new technique. There can thus be no doubt that, sooner or later, the devices which already make it possible for poorly endowed countries to achieve a measure of self-sufficiency will come into general use. This being so, it is as well to make a virtue of necessity and exploit the discoveries of technology systematically and, so far as possible, for the benefit of all. At present these technological discoveries are being used by the dictators solely for war purposes. But there is no reason why the idea of national self-sufficiency should be associated

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

with ideas of war. Science makes it inevitable that all countries shall soon attain to a considerable degree of self-sufficiency. This inevitable development should be so directed as to serve the cause of peace. And, in effect, it can easily be made to serve the cause of peace. The influence of nationalistic idolatry is now so strong that every contact between nations threatens to produce discord. Accordingly, the less we have to do with one another, the more likely are we to keep the peace. Thanks to certain technological discoveries, it is unnecessary henceforward that we should have much to do with one another. The more rapidly and the more systematically we make use of these discoveries, the better for all concerned.

Let us consider by way of example the problem of food supply. Many governments, including the English, German, Italian and Japanese, excuse their preparations for war, their possession of colonies or their desire, if they do not possess colonies, for new conquests, on the ground that their territories are insufficient to supply the inhabitants with food. At the present time this 'natural' food shortage is intensified by an artificial shortage, due to faulty monetary policies, which prevent certain countries from acquiring food-stuffs from abroad. These faulty monetary policies are the result of militarism. The governments of the countries concerned choose to spend all the available national resources for the purchase of armaments—on guns rather than butter. Food cannot be bought because the country is preparing to go to war; the country must go to war because food cannot be bought. As usual, it is a vicious circle.

Faulty monetary policy may prevent certain nations from buying food from abroad. But even if this policy were altered, it would still remain true that food must be obtained from foreign sources. In relation to existing home supplies, such countries as Great Britain, Germany

ENDS AND MEANS

and Japan are over-populated. Hence, according to the rulers of these countries, the need for new aggression or, where aggression was practised in the past, for the maintenance of long-established empires. To what extent is over-population a valid excuse for militarism and imperialism? According to experts trained in the techniques of modern agro-biology, imperialism has now lost one of its principal justifications. Readers are referred to Dr. Willcox's book, *Nations can live at Home*, for a systematic exposition of the agro-biologist's case. According to Dr. Willcox, any country which chooses to apply the most advanced methods to the production of food plants, including grasses for live-stock, can support a population far in excess of the densest population existing anywhere on the earth's surface at the present time. The methods outlined by Dr. Willcox have already been used commercially. The novel system of 'dirtless farming' devised by Professor Gericke of California is still in the experimental stage; but if it turns out to be satisfactory, it promises a larger supply of food, produced with less labour and on a smaller area, than any other method can offer. It seems probable, indeed, that 'dirtless farming' will produce an agricultural revolution compared to which the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will seem the most trifling of social disturbances.¹ Profitable technological inventions cannot be suppressed. If Professor Gericke's discovery turns out to be commercially useful, it will certainly be used. Solely in the interests of the farming community, governments will be forced to control the commercial exploitation of this revolutionary discovery. In the process of controlling it

¹ In the report of the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt to consider probable future trends, 'dirtless farming' was listed among the thirteen inventions likely to cause important social changes in the near future. The report was issued in July 1937.

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

for the sake of the farmers, they can also control it in the interests of world peace. Even if 'dirtless farming' should not turn out to be a commercial proposition, nations, in Dr. Willcox's phrase, can still 'live at home,' and live (if the birth-rate does not sharply rise) in a hitherto unprecedented plenty. It is profoundly significant that no government has hitherto made any serious effort to apply modern agro-biological methods on a large scale, for the purpose of raising the standard of material well-being among its subjects and of rendering imperialism and foreign conquest superfluous. This fact alone would be a sufficient demonstration of the truth that the causes of war are not solely economic, but psychological. People prepare for war, among other reasons, because war is in the great tradition; because war is exciting and gives them certain personal or vicarious satisfactions; because their education has left them militaristically minded; because they live in a society where success, however achieved, is worshipped and where competition seems more 'natural' (because, under the present dispensation, it is more habitual) than co-operation. Hence the general reluctance to embark on constructive policies, directed towards the removal at least of the economic causes of war. Hence, too, the extraordinary energy which rulers and even the ruled put into such destructive and war-provoking policies as re-armament, the centralization of executive power and the regimentation of the masses.

I have spoken hitherto of the international consequences of national planning and of the measures which planners should take in order to minimize such consequences. In the ensuing paragraphs I shall deal with planning in its domestic aspects. Others have written, at great length and in minute detail, about the strictly technical problems of planning, and for a discussion of these problems I must refer the readers to the already enormous literature of the

ENDS AND MEANS

subject.¹ In this place I propose to discuss planning in relation to our ideal postulates and to set forth the conditions which must be fulfilled if the plans are to be successful in contributing towards the realization of those ideals.

In the section on Social Reform and Violence I made it clear that most human beings are conservative, that even desirable changes beget opposition, and that no plan which has to be imposed by great and prolonged violence is ever likely to achieve the desirable results expected of it. From this it follows, first, that only strictly necessary reforms should be undertaken; second, that no change to which there is likely to be widespread and violent opposition should be imposed, however intrinsically desirable it may be, except gradually and by instalments; and, thirdly, that desirable changes should be made, wherever possible, by the application to wider fields of methods with which people are already familiar and of which they approve.

Let us apply these general principles to particular examples of social planning, and first of all to the great arch-plan of all reformers: the plan for transforming a capitalist society, in which the profit motive predominates, into a socialist society, in which the first consideration is the common good.

Our first principle is that only strictly necessary changes shall be carried out. If we wish to transform an advanced capitalist society, what are the changes that we cannot afford not to make? The answer is clear: the necessary, the indispensable changes are changes in the management of large-scale production. At present the management of large-scale production is in the hands of irresponsible individuals seeking profit. Moreover, each large unit is

¹ *Planned Society*, by Thirty-five Authors (New York, 1937), contains authoritative summaries of almost all aspects of planning, together with full bibliographies.

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

independent of all the rest; there is a complete absence of co-ordination between them. It is the unco-ordinated activity of large-scale production that leads to those periodical crises and depressions which inflict such untold hardship upon the working masses of the people in industrialized countries. Small-scale production carried on by individuals who own the instruments with which they personally work is not subject to periodical slumps. Furthermore, the ownership of the means of small-scale, personal production has none of the disastrous political, economic and psychological consequences of large-scale production—loss of independence, enslavement to an employer, insecurity of the tenure of employment. The advantages of socialism can be obtained by making changes in the management of large-scale units of production. Small units of production need not be touched. In this way, many of the advantages of individualism can be preserved and at the same time opposition to indispensable reforms will be minimized.

Our second principle is that no reform, however intrinsically desirable, should be undertaken if it is likely to result in violent opposition. For example, let us assume (though it may not in fact be true) that collectivized agriculture is more productive than individualized agriculture and that the collectivized farm worker is, socially speaking, a better individual than the small farmer who owns his own land. This granted, it follows that the collectivization of agriculture is an intrinsically desirable policy. But though intrinsically desirable it is not a policy that should be carried out, except perhaps by slow degrees. Carried out at one stroke, it would inevitably arouse violent opposition, which would have to be crushed by yet greater violence. In Russia the rapid collectivization of agriculture could not be effected except by the liquidation, through imprisonment, execution and wholesale

ENDS AND MEANS

starvation, of a very large number of peasant proprietors. It is probable that a part, at least, of what is now (1937) called the Trotskyite opposition is composed of individuals who bear the government a grudge for this and other pieces of terrorism. To put down opposition, the government has had to resort to further violence, has had to make itself (to use Professor Laski's euphemistic metallurgical metaphor) even more of an 'iron dictatorship' than it was before. This further violence and this, shall we call it, high-speed steel dictatorship can only produce the ordinary results of brutality and tyranny—servitude, militarism, passive obedience, irresponsibility. Among the highly industrialized peoples of the West the collectivization of agriculture would have even more serious results than in Russia. Instead of being in an overwhelming majority, the peasants and farmers of Western Europe and America are less numerous than the town dwellers. Being less numerous, they are more precious. To liquidate, even to antagonize, any large number of this indispensable minority would be fatal to the people of the towns. A few millions of peasants could be starved in Russia and still, because there were so many millions of other peasants, the urban population could be fed. In countries like France or Germany, England or the United States, a policy of starving even quite a few peasants and farmers would inevitably result in the starving of huge numbers of urban workers.

The last of the three general principles of action enunciated above is to the effect that desirable changes should be made, wherever possible, by the application to wider fields of methods with which people are already familiar and of which they approve. A few concrete examples of the way in which existing institutions might be developed so as to bring about desirable changes in capitalistic societies are given below. The principle of the limitation

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

of profit and of supervision by the state in the public interest has already been admitted and applied in such public utility corporations as the Port of London Authority, the Port of New York Authority, the London Passenger Transport Board, the Electricity Board, the B.B.C.¹ There should be no insuperable difficulty in extending the application of this already accepted principle to wider fields. Similarly there should be no great difficulty in extending the application of the popularly approved principles of consumer co-operation and producer co-operation. Again, consider the existing forms of taxation. In almost all countries the rich have accepted the principle of income tax and death duties. By any government which so desires, such taxation can be used for the purpose of reducing economic inequalities between individuals and classes, for imposing a maximum wage and for transferring control over large-scale production and finance from private hands to the state. One last example: the investment trust is a well-known and widely patronized financial convenience. Under the present dispensation the investment trust is a private, profit-making concern. There would, however, be no great technical or political obstacle in the way of transforming it into a publicly controlled corporation, having as its function the rational direction of the flow of investment.

I have spoken of intrinsically desirable reforms; but the phrase is crude and needs qualifying. In practice, no reform can be separated from its administrative, governmental, educational and psychological contexts. The tree is known by its fruits, and the fruits of any given reform depend for their quantity and quality at least as

¹ In some cases these corporations have had to take responsibility for over-capitalized concerns. In others the minimum interest rate has been fixed too high. These mistakes do not invalidate the principle involved.

ENDS AND MEANS

much on the contexts of the reform as upon the reform itself.

For example, collective ownership of the means of production does not have as its necessary and unconditional result the liberation of those who have hitherto been bondmen. Collective ownership of the means of production is perfectly compatible, as we see in contemporary Russia, with authoritarian management of factories and farms, with militarized education and conscription, with the rule of a dictator, supported by an oligarchy of party men and making use of a privileged bureaucracy, a censored press and a huge force of secret police. Collective ownership of the means of production certainly delivers the workers from their servitude to many petty dictators—landlords, money-lenders, factory owners and the like. But if the contexts of this intrinsically desirable reform are intrinsically undesirable, then the result will be, not responsible freedom for the workers, but another form of passive and irresponsible bondage. Delivered from servitude to many small dictators, they will find themselves under the control of the agents of a single centralized dictatorship, more effective than the old, because it wields the material powers and is backed by the almost divine prestige of the national state.

The contexts of reform are more desirable in the democratic than in the totalitarian states; therefore the results of reform are likely to be better in the democratic states. Unhappily, contemporary circumstances are such that, unless the process is intelligently and actively resisted by men of good will, it is all but inevitable that these desirable contexts shall rapidly deteriorate. The reasons for this are simple. First of all, even the democratic peoples are imperialists and desire to beat the Fascist states at their own game of war. In order to prepare effectively for modern war, political power will have to be more highly

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

centralized, self-governing institutions progressively abolished, opinion more strictly controlled and education militarized. In the second place, the democratic countries are still suffering to some extent from the economic depression which started in 1929. The various governments concerned have resorted to a measure of economic planning in order to mitigate the hardships suffered by their peoples. Economic planning has given these governments an opportunity for strengthening their position. In England, for example, the central executive, the bureaucracy and the police are probably more powerful to-day than they have ever been. But the more powerful these forces become the less are they able to tolerate democratic liberty—even the small amount of it which exists among the so-called democratic peoples. Another point: economic planning inevitably leads to more economic planning, for the simple reason that the situation is so complex that planners cannot fail to make mistakes. Mistakes have to be remedied by the improvization and rapid enforcement of new plans. It is probable that these new plans will also contain mistakes, which must in turn be remedied by yet other plans. And so on. Now, where planning has come to be associated with an increase in the power of the executive (and unfortunately this has been the case in all the democratic countries), every fresh access of planning activity, necessitated by mistakes in earlier plans, takes the country yet another step towards dictatorship. At the same time, as we have seen, comprehensive national planning leads to international chaos and consequent discord. In other words, national planning increases the risk of war; but war cannot be waged, or even prepared for, except by a highly centralized government. It will thus be seen that both directly and indirectly economic planning leads to a deterioration of the contexts in which desirable reform can be carried out.

ENDS AND MEANS

In the chapters that follow I shall concentrate almost exclusively on the desirable contexts of reform. My reasons for this are simple. 'Advanced thinkers' have talked and written at endless length about the desirable reforms, especially economic reforms. All of us have heard of the public ownership of the means of production; production for use and not for profit; public control of finance and investment, and all the rest. All of us, I repeat, have heard of these ideas and most of us are agreed that they ought to be transferred from the realm of theory to that of fact. But how few of us ever pay any attention to the administrative, educational and psychological contexts in which the necessary reforms are to be carried out! How few of us ever stop to consider the means whereby they shall be enforced! And yet our personal experience and the study of history make it abundantly clear that the means whereby we try to achieve something are at least as important as the end we wish to attain. Indeed, they are even more important. For the means employed inevitably determine the nature of the result achieved; whereas, however good the end aimed at may be, its goodness is powerless to counteract the effects of the bad means we use to reach it. Similarly, a reform may be in the highest degree desirable; but if the contexts in which that reform is enacted are undesirable, the results will inevitably be disappointing. These are simple and obvious truths. Nevertheless they are almost universally neglected. To illustrate these truths and to show how we might profitably act upon them will be my principal task in the ensuing pages.

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

A Note on Planning for the Future

Communities in which technological progress is being made are subject to continuous social change. Social changes caused by the advance of technology are often accompanied by much suffering and inconvenience. Can this be avoided?

A committee was recently appointed by the President of the United States to consider this question. Its report (referred to above) was made public in the summer of 1937 and is a very valuable document.

In the field of industry, the authors point out, technological progress never leads to any social changes which cannot be foreseen a good many years in advance. In most cases the first discovery of a new process is separated from its large-scale commercial application by at least a quarter of a century. (Often this period is considerably greater.) Any community which chooses to make use of the intelligence and imagination of its best scientific minds can foresee the probable social consequences of a given technological advance long years before they actually develop. Up to the present social changes due to technological progress have taken communities by surprise, not because they came suddenly, out of the blue, but because nobody in authority ever took the trouble to think out in advance what such changes were likely to be, or what were the best methods of preventing them from causing avoidable suffering. President Roosevelt's commission has pointed out what are the recent inventions most likely to cause important social changes in the immediate future, and has suggested a design for the administrative machinery required to minimize their ill effects. The problem, in this case, is purely a problem for technicians.

There is one field in which very small technological advances may produce disproportionately great effects upon

ENDS AND MEANS

society; I refer to the field of armament manufacture. A slight change, for example, in the design of internal-combustion engines—so slight as to have no appreciable effect on the numbers of men employed in their construction—may bring (and indeed has actually brought) millions of innocent men, women and children a long step nearer to death by fire, poison and explosion. In this case, of course, the problem is not one for technicians; it is a problem that can be solved only when sufficient numbers of men of good will are prepared to make use of the methods by which, and by which alone, it can be solved. For the nature of these methods I must refer the reader to the chapters on War and Individual Work for Reform.

Rises and falls in the birth-rate are likely to produce social changes even more far-reaching than those produced by technological advances. It is about as certain as any future contingency can be that, half a century from now, the population of the industrialized countries of Western Europe will have declined, both absolutely and in relation to that of the countries of Eastern Europe. Thus, when Great Britain has only thirty-five million inhabitants, of whom less than a tenth will be under fifteen and more than a sixth over sixty, Russia will have about three hundred millions. Will a country so (relatively speaking) sparsely inhabited as the Britain of 1990 be able to keep up its position as a 'First-class, Imperial Power'? In the past Sweden, Portugal and Holland attempted to keep up the status of a Great Power on the basis of a population that was absolutely and relatively small. All of them failed in the attempt. If only for demographical reasons, Britain should take all possible steps to avoid a struggle for imperial power which, if not immediately fatal, will almost certainly prove fatal a couple of generations hence. In a militaristic world, relatively under-populated countries cannot hope (unless protected by more powerful neigh-

THE PLANNED SOCIETY

hours) to retain exclusive possession of large empires. British imperialism was all very well when Britain was, relatively, highly populous and, thanks to being an island, invulnerable. For an exceedingly vulnerable and relatively underpopulated Britain, imperialism is the policy of a lunatic. (See Griffin's *An Alternative to Rearmament*, London, 1936.)

Here again the problem raised by a declining birth-rate is not a problem for technicians. It is part of the general problem of international politics and war, and can be solved only when sufficient numbers of people genuinely desire to solve it and are ready to take the appropriate steps for doing so.

Chapter VI

NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE

FOR our present purposes, the significant facts about the governments of contemporary nations are these. There are a few rulers and many ruled. The rulers are generally actuated by love of power; occasionally by a sense of duty to society; more often and bewilderingly, by both at once. Their principal attachment is to pride, with which are often associated cruelty and avarice. The ruled, for the most part, quietly accept their subordinate position and even actual hardship and injustice. In certain circumstances it happens that they cease to accept and there is a revolt. But revolt is the exception; the general rule is obedience.

The patience of common humanity is the most important, and almost the most surprising, fact in history. Most men and women are prepared to tolerate the intolerable. The reasons for this extraordinary state of things are many and various. There is ignorance, first of all. Those who know of no state of affairs other than the intolerable are unaware that their lot might be improved. Then there is fear. Men know that their life is intolerable, but are afraid of the consequences of revolt. The existence of a sense of kinship and social solidarity constitutes another reason why people tolerate the intolerable. Men and women feel attached to the society of which they are members—feel attached even when the rulers of that society treat them badly. It is worthy of remark that, in a crisis, the workers (who are the ruled) have always fought for their respective nations (*i.e.* for their rulers) and against other workers.

NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE

Mere habit and the force of inertia are also extremely powerful. To get out of a rut, even an uncomfortable rut, requires more effort than most people are prepared to make. In his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* Bryce suggests that the main reason for obedience to law is simply indolence. 'It is for this reason,' he says, 'that a strenuous and unwearying will sometimes becomes so tremendous a power . . . almost a hypnotic force.' Because of indolence, the disinherited are hardly less conservative than the possessors; they cling to their familiar miseries almost as tenaciously as the others cling to their privileges. The Buddhist and, later, the Christian moralists numbered sloth among the deadly sins. If we accept the principle that the tree is to be judged by its fruits, we must admit that they were right. Among the many poisonous fruits of sloth are dictatorship on the one hand and passive, irresponsible obedience on the other. Reformers should aim at delivering men from the temptations of sloth no less than from the temptations of ambition, avarice and the lust for power and position. Conversely, no reform which leaves the masses of the people wallowing in the slothful irresponsibility of passive obedience to authority can be counted as a genuine change for the better.¹

Reinforcing the effect of indolence, kindness and fear, rationalizing these emotions in intellectual terms, is philosophical belief. The ruled obey their rulers because, in addition to all the other reasons, they accept as true some metaphysical or theological system which teaches that the state ought to be obeyed and is intrinsically worthy of obedience. Rulers are seldom content with the brute facts of power and satisfied ambition; they aspire to rule *de jure* as well as *de facto*. The rights of violence and cunning are not enough for them. To strengthen their position in

¹ For the relation existing between energy and sexual continence, see Chapter XV.

ENDS AND MEANS

relation to the ruled and at the same time to satisfy their own uneasy cravings for ethical justification, they try to show that they rule by right divine. Most theories of the state are merely intellectual devices invented by philosophers for the purpose of proving that the people who actually wield power are precisely the people who ought to wield it. Some few theories are fabricated by revolutionary thinkers. These last are concerned to prove that the people at the head of their favourite political party are precisely the people who ought to wield power—to wield it just as ruthlessly as the tyrants in office at the moment. To discuss such theories is mainly a waste of time; for they are simply beside the point, irrelevant to the significant facts. If we wish to think correctly about the state, we must do so as psychologists, not as special pleaders, arguing a case for tyrants or would-be tyrants. And if we want to make a reasonable assessment of the value of any given state, we must judge it in terms of the highest morality we know—in other words, we must judge it in the light of the ideal postulates formulated by the prophets and the founders of religions. Hegel, it is true, regarded such judgments as extremely ‘shallow.’ But if profundity leads to Prussianism, as it did in Hegel’s case, then give me shallowness. Let those who will, be *tief*; I prefer superficiality and the common decencies. We shall understand nothing of the problems of government unless we come down to psychological facts and ethical first principles.

To a greater or less degree, then, all the civilized communities of the modern world are made up of a small class of rulers, corrupted by too much power, and of a large class of subjects, corrupted by too much passive and irresponsible obedience. Participation in a social order of this kind makes it extremely difficult for individuals to achieve that non-attachment in the midst of activity,

NATURE OF THE MODERN STATE

which is the distinguishing mark of the ideally excellent human being; and where there is not at least a considerable degree of non-attachment in activity, the ideal society of the prophets cannot be realized. A desirable social order is one that delivers us from avoidable evils. A bad social order is one that leads us into temptation which, if matters were more sensibly arranged, would never arise. Our present business is to discover what large-scale social changes are best calculated to deliver us from the evils of too much power and of too much passive and irresponsible obedience. It has been shown in the preceding chapter that the economic reforms, so dear to 'advanced thinkers,' are not in themselves sufficient to produce desirable changes in the character of society and of the individuals composing it. Unless carried out by the right sort of means and in the right sort of governmental, administrative and educational contexts, such reforms are either fruitless or actually fruitful of evil. In order to create the proper contexts for economic reform we must change our machinery of government, our methods of public administration and industrial organization, our system of education and our metaphysical and ethical beliefs. With education and beliefs I shall deal in a later section of this book. Our concern here is with government and the administration of public and industrial affairs. In reality, of course, these various topics are inseparable parts of a single whole. Existing methods of government and existing systems of industrial organization are not likely to be changed except by people who have been educated to wish to change them. Conversely, it is unlikely that governments composed as they are to-day will change the existing system of education in such a way that there will be a demand for a complete overhaul of governmental methods. It is the usual vicious circle from which, as always, there is only one way of escape—through acts of free will on the part of morally enlightened,

ENDS AND MEANS

intelligent, well-informed and determined individuals, acting in concert. Of the necessity for the voluntary association of such individuals and of the enormously important part that they can play in the changing of society I shall speak later. For the moment, let us consider the machinery of government and industrial administration.

Chapter VII

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

WE have found agreement in regard to the ideal society and the ideal human being. Among the political reformers of the last century we even find a measure of agreement about the best means of organizing the state so as to achieve the ends which all desire. Philosophic Radicals, Fourierists, Proudhonian Mutualists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Tolstoyans—all agree that authoritarian rule and an excessive concentration of power are among the main obstacles in the way of social and individual progress. Even the Communists express at least a theoretical dislike of the centralized, authoritarian state. Marx described the state as a ‘parasite on society’ and looked forward to the time, after the revolution, when it would automatically ‘wither away.’ Meanwhile, however, there was to be the dictatorship of the proletariat and an enormous increase in the powers of the central executive. The present Russian state is a highly centralized oligarchy. Its subjects, children and women as well as men, are regimented by means of military conscription, and an efficient secret police system takes care of people when they are not actually serving in the army. There is a censorship of the press, and the educational system, liberalized by Lenin, has now reverted to the authoritarian, militaristic type, familiar in Tsarist Russia, in the Italy of Mussolini, in Germany before the war and again under Hitler. We are asked by the supporters of Stalin’s government to believe that the best and shortest road to liberty is through military servitude; that the most suitable preparation for responsible self-

ENDS AND MEANS

government is a tyranny employing police espionage, delation, legalized terrorism and press censorship; that the proper education for future freemen and peace-lovers is that which was and is still being used by Prussian militarists.

Our earth is round, and it is therefore possible to travel from Paris to Rouen via Shanghai. Our history, on the contrary, would seem to be flat. Those who wish to reach a specific historical goal must advance directly towards it; no amount of walking in the opposite direction will bring them to their destination.

The goal of those who wish to change society for the better is freedom, justice and peaceful co-operation between non-attached, yet active and responsible individuals. Is there the smallest reason to suppose that such a goal can be reached through police espionage, military slavery, the centralization of power, the creation of an elaborate political hierarchy, the suppression of free discussion and the imposition of an authoritarian system of education? Obviously and emphatically, the answer is No.

Marx believed that, after the revolution, the state would, in due course, automatically wither away. This is a point worth considering in some detail. In any given society, as Marx himself pointed out, the state exists, among other reasons, for the purpose of ensuring to the ruling class the continuance of its privileges. Thus, in a feudal community the state is the instrument by means of which the landed nobility keeps itself in power. Under capitalism, the state is the instrument by means of which the bourgeoisie retains its right to rule and to be rich. Similarly, under a hierarchical system of state Socialism, the state is the instrument by means of which the ruling bureaucracy defends the position to which it has climbed. The more firmly you consolidate your hierarchy, the more tenaciously will its members cling to their privileges. A highly

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

centralized dictatorial state may be smashed by war or overturned by a revolution from below; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither. Dictatorship of the proletariat is in actual fact dictatorship by a small privileged minority; and dictatorship by a small privileged minority does not lead to liberty, justice, peace and the co-operation of non-attached, but active and responsible individuals. It leads either to more dictatorship, or to war, or to revolution, or (more probably) to all three in fairly rapid succession.

No, the political road to a better society (and do not let us forget that, if we would reach the goal, we must advance along many other roads as well as the political) is the road of decentralization and responsible self-government. Dictatorial short cuts cannot conceivably take us to our destination. We must march directly towards the goal; if we turn our backs to it we shall merely increase the distance which separates us from the place to which we wish to go.

The political road to a better society is, I repeat, the road of decentralization and responsible self-government. But in present circumstances it is extremely improbable that any civilized nation will take that road. It is extremely improbable for a simple reason which I have stated before and which I make no excuse for repeating. No society which is preparing for war can afford to be anything but highly centralized. Unity of command is essential, not only after the outbreak of hostilities, but also (in the circumstances of contemporary life) before. A country which proposes to make use of modern war as an instrument of policy must possess a highly centralized, all-powerful executive. (Hence the absurdity of talking about the defence of democracy by force of arms. A democracy which makes or even effectively prepares for modern, scientific war must necessarily cease to be democratic.

ENDS AND MEANS

No country can be really well prepared for modern war unless it is governed by a tyrant, at the head of a highly trained and perfectly obedient bureaucracy.)

I have said that a country which proposes to make use of modern war as an instrument of policy must possess a highly centralized, all-powerful executive. But, conversely, a country which possesses a highly centralized, all-powerful executive is more likely to wage war than a country where power is decentralized and the population genuinely governs itself. There are several reasons for this. Dictatorships are rarely secure. Whenever a tyrant feels that his popularity is waning, he is tempted to exploit nationalistic passion in order to consolidate his own position. Pogroms and treason trials are the ordinary devices by means of which a dictator revives the flagging enthusiasm of his people. When these fail, he may be driven to war. Nor must we forget that the more absolute the ruler, the more completely does he tend to associate his own personal prestige with the prestige of the nation he rules. '*L'Etat c'est moi*' is an illusion to which kings, dictators and even such minor members of the ruling clique as bureaucrats and diplomats succumb with a fatal facility. For the victims of this illusion, a loss of national prestige is a blow to their private vanity, a national victory is a personal triumph. Extreme centralization of power creates opportunities for individuals to believe that the state is themselves. To make or to threaten war becomes, for the tyrant, a method of self-assertion. The state is made the instrument of an individual's manias of persecution and grandeur. Thus we see that extreme centralization of power is not only necessary if war is to be waged successfully; it is also a contributory cause of war.

In existing circumstances the ruling classes of every nation feel that they must prepare for war. This means that there will be a general tendency to increase the power

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

of the central executive. This increase of power of the central executive tends to make war more likely. Hence there will be demands for yet more intensive centralization. And so on, *ad infinitum*—or, rather, until the crash comes.

So long as civilized countries continue to prepare for war, it is enormously improbable that any of them will pursue a policy of decentralization and the extension of the principle of self-government. On the contrary, power will tend to become more narrowly concentrated than at present, not only in the totalitarian states, but also in the democratic countries, which will therefore tend to become less and less democratic. Indeed, the movement away from democratic forms of government and towards centralization of authority and military tyranny is already under way in the democratic countries. In England such symptoms as the Sedition Bill, the enrolment of an army of 'air raid wardens,' the secret but systematic drilling of government servants in the technique of 'air raid precautions,' are unmistakable. In France the executive has already taken to itself the power to conscribe everybody and everything in the event of war breaking out. In Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries, as well as in the more powerful democracies, huge sums are being spent on rearmament. But rearmament is not a mere accumulation of ironmongery. There must be men trained to use the new weapons, a supply of docile labour for their manufacture. An increase in the amount of a country's armaments implies a corresponding increase in the degree of its militarization. The fire-eaters of the Left who, for the last two years, have been calling for a 'firm stand' (*i.e.* military action) on the part of the democratic countries against Fascist aggression have in effect been calling for an acceleration of the process by which the democratic countries are gradually, but systematically, being trans-

ENDS AND MEANS

formed into the likeness of those Fascist states they so much detest.

Nothing succeeds like success—even success that is merely apparent. The prevalence of centralization in the contemporary world creates a popular belief that centralization is not what in fact it is—a great evil, imposed upon the world by the threat of war and avoidable only with difficulty and at the price of enormous effort and considerable sacrifices—but intrinsically sound policy. Because in fact political power is being more and more closely concentrated, people have come to be persuaded that the way to desirable change lies through the concentration of power. Centralization is the order of the day; the *Zeitgeist* commands it; therefore, they argue, centralization must be right. They forget that the *Zeitgeist* is just as likely to be a spirit of evil as a spirit of good and that the fact that something happens to exist is in no way a guarantee that it ought to exist.

Every dictatorship has its own private jargon. The vocabularies are different; but the purpose which they serve is in all cases the same—to legitimate the local despotism, to make a *de facto* government appear to be a government by divine right. Such jargons are instruments of tyranny as indispensable as police spies and a press censorship. They provide a set of terms in which the maddest policies can be rationalized and the most monstrous crimes abundantly justified. They serve as moulds for a whole people's thoughts and feelings and desires. By means of them the oppressed can be persuaded, not only to tolerate, but actually to worship their insane and criminal oppressors.

Significantly enough, one word is common to all the dictatorial vocabularies and is used for purposes of justification and rationalization by Fascists, Nazis and Communists alike. That word is 'historical.'

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is an 'historical necessity.' The violence of Communists is justified because, unlike Fascist violence, it is being used to forward an ineluctable 'historical' process.

In the same way, Fascism is said by its supporters to possess a quality of 'historical' inevitableness. The Italians have a great 'historical mission,' which is to create an empire, in other words to gas and machine-gun people weaker than themselves.

No less 'historically' necessary and right are the brutalities of men in brown shirts. As for the 'historical' importance of the Aryan race, this is so prodigious that absolutely any wickedness, any folly is permitted to men with fair hair and blue eyes—even to *nachgedunkelte Schrumpf-Germanen*, like Hitler himself and the swarthy little Goebbels.

The appeal to history is one which the dictators find particularly convenient; for the assumption which underlies it is that, in Hegelian language, the real is the rational—that what happens is ultimately the same as what ought to happen.

For example, it very often happens that might triumphs over right; therefore might is 'historical' and deserves to conquer.

Again, absolute power is intoxicatingly delightful. In consequence, those who have seized absolute power are prepared, as a rule, to make use of any means, however disgraceful, in order to retain it. Spying, delation, torture, arbitrary imprisonment and execution—in every dictatorial country these are the ordinary instruments of domestic policy. They occur; they are therefore 'historical.' Being historical they are, in some *tief*, Hegelian way, reasonable and right.

That such a doctrine should be believed and taught by tyrants is not surprising. The odd, the profoundly

ENDS AND MEANS

depressing fact is that it should be accepted as true by millions who are not tyrants, nor even the subjects of tyrants. For ever-increasing numbers of men and women, 'historicalness' is coming to be accepted as one of the supreme values. This implicit identification of what ought to be with what is effectively vitiates all thinking about, morals, about politics, about progress, about social reform, even about art. In those who make the identification it induces a kind of busy, Panglossian fatalism. Looking out upon the world, they observe that circumstances seem to be conspiring to drive men in a certain direction. This movement is 'historical,' therefore possesses value—exists and therefore ought to exist. They accept what is. Indeed, they do much more than accept; they applaud, they give testimonials. If the real is the rational and the right, then it follows that a 'historical' action must have the same results as an action dictated by reason and the loftiest idealism.

Let us return, for a concrete example, to this matter of the centralization of power. The particular circumstances of our time (nationalistic sentiment, economic imperialism, threats of war and so forth) conspire to create a tendency towards the concentration and centralization of authority. The consequence of this is a curtailment of individual liberties and a progressive regimentation of the masses, even in countries hitherto enjoying a democratic form of government. The rational idealist deplores this tendency towards tyranny and enslavement, and is convinced that its results can only be bad. Not so the man who is *tief* enough to regard historicalness as a value. His ultimate aim is probably the same as that of the rational idealist. But, believing as he does that the real is the rational, he persuades himself that the road which circumstances conspire to impose upon him must necessarily lead him to the desired goal. He believes that tyranny will some-

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

how result in democracy, enslavement in the 'liberation of the individual, concentration of political and economic power in self-government all round. He is ready, in a word, to tolerate or even actively engage in any wickedness or any imbecility, because he is convinced that there is some 'historical' providence which will cause bad, inappropriate means to result in good ends.

The sooner we convince ourselves that 'historicalness' is not a value and that what we allow circumstances to make us do has no necessary connection with what we ought to do, the better it will be for ourselves and for the world we live in. At the present moment of time, the 'historical' is almost unmitigatedly evil. To accept the 'historical' and to work for it is to co-operate with the powers of darkness against the light.

Chapter VIII

DECENTRALIZATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE Anarchists propose that the state should be abolished; and in so far as it serves as the instrument by means of which the ruling class preserves its privileges, in so far as it is a device for enabling paranoiacs to satisfy their lust for power and carry out their crazy dreams of glory, the state is obviously worthy of abolition. But in complex societies like our own the state has certain other and more useful functions to perform. It is clear, for example, that in any such society there must be some organization responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the various constituent groups; clear, too, that there must be a body to which is delegated the power of acting in the name of the society as a whole. If the word 'state' is too unpleasantly associated with ideas of domestic oppression and foreign war, with irresponsible domination and no less irresponsible submission, then by all means let us call the necessary social machinery by some other name. For the present there is no general agreement as to what that name should be; I shall therefore go on using the bad old word, until some better one is invented.

From what has been said in the preceding chapters it is clear that no economic reform, however intrinsically desirable, can lead to desirable changes in individuals and the society they constitute, unless it is carried through in a desirable context and by desirable methods. So far as the state is concerned, the desirable context for reform is decentralization and self-government all round. The desirable methods for enacting reform are the methods of non-violence.

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

Passing from the general to the particular and the concrete, the rational idealist finds himself confronted by the following questions. First, by what means can the principle of self-government be applied to the daily lives of men and women? Second, to what extent is the self-government of the component parts of a society compatible with its efficiency as a whole? And, thirdly, if a central organization is needed to co-ordinate the activities of the self-governing parts, what is to prevent this organization from becoming a ruling oligarchy of the kind with which we are only too painfully familiar?

The technique for self-government all round, self-government for ordinary people in their ordinary avocations, is a matter which we cannot profitably discuss unless we have a clear idea of what may be called the natural history and psychology of groups. Quantitatively, a group differs from a crowd in size; qualitatively, in the kind and intensity of the mental life of the constituent individuals. A crowd is a lot of people; a group is a few. A crowd has a mental life inferior in intellectual quality and emotionally less under voluntary control than the mental life of each of its members in isolation. The mental life of a group is not inferior, either intellectually or emotionally, to the mental life of the individuals composing it and may, in favourable circumstances, actually be superior.

The significant psychological facts about the crowd are as follows. The tone of crowd emotion is essentially orgiastic and dionysiac. In virtue of his membership of the crowd, the individual is released from the limitations of his personality, made free of the sub-personal, sub-human world of unrestrained feeling and uncriticized belief. To be a member of a crowd is an experience closely akin to alcoholic intoxication. Most human beings feel a craving to escape from the cramping limitations of their ego, to take periodical holidays from their all too familiar, all too

ENDS AND MEANS

squalid little self. As they do not know how to travel upwards from personality into a region of super-personality and as they are unwilling, even if they do know, to fulfil the ethical, psychological and physiological conditions of self-transcendence, they turn naturally to the descending road, the road that leads down from personality to the darkness of sub-human emotionalism and panic animality. Hence the persistent craving for narcotics and stimulants, hence the never-failing attraction of the crowd. The success of the dictators is due in large measure to their extremely skilful exploitation of the universal human need for escape from the limitations of personality. Perceiving that people wished to take holidays from themselves in sub-human emotionality, they have systematically provided their subjects with the occasions for doing so. The Communists denounce religion as the opium of the people; but all they have done is to replace this old drug by a new one of similar composition. For the crowd around the relic of the saint they have substituted the crowd at the political meeting; for religious procession, military reviews and May Day parades. It is the same with the Fascist dictators. In all the totalitarian states the masses are persuaded, and even compelled, to take periodical holidays from themselves in the sub-human world of crowd emotion. It is significant that while they encourage and actually command the descent into sub-humanity, the dictators do all they can to prevent men from taking the upward road from personal limitation, the road that leads towards non-attachment to the 'things of this world' and attachment to that which is super-personal. The higher manifestations of religion are far more suspect to the tyrants than the lower—and with reason. For the man who escapes from egotism into super-personality has transcended his old idolatrous loyalty, not only to himself, but also to the local divinities—nation, party, class, deified boss. Self-transcendence, escape from the prison of the

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

ego into union with what is above personality, is generally accomplished in solitude. That is why the tyrants like to herd their subjects into those vast crowds, in which the individual is reduced to a state of intoxicated sub-humanity.

It is time now to consider the group. The first question we must ask ourselves is this: when does a group become a crowd? This is not a problem in verbal definition; it is a matter of observation and experience. It is found empirically that group activities and characteristic group feeling become increasingly difficult when more than about twenty or less than about five individuals are involved. Groups which come together for the purpose of carrying out a specific job of manual work can afford to be larger than groups which meet for the purpose of pooling information and elaborating a common policy, or which meet for religious exercises, or for mutual comfort, or merely for the sake of convivially 'getting together.' Twenty or even as many as thirty people can work together and still remain a group. But these numbers would be much too high in a group that had assembled for the other purposes I have mentioned. It is significant that Jesus had only twelve apostles; that the Benedictines were divided into groups of ten under a dean (Latin *decanus*, from Greek *δέκα*, ten); that ten is the number of individuals constituting a Communist cell. Committees of more than a dozen members are found to be unmanageably large. Eight is the perfect number for a dinner party. The most successful Quaker meetings are generally meetings at which few people are present. Educationists agree that the most satisfactory size for a class is between eight and fifteen. In armies, the smallest unit is about ten. The witches' 'coven' was a group of thirteen. And so on. All evidence points clearly to the fact that there is an optimum size for groups and that this optimum is round about ten for groups meeting for social, religious or intellectual purposes, and from ten to thirty for groups

ENDS AND MEANS

engaged in manual work. This being so, it is clear that the units of self-government should be groups of the optimum size. If they are smaller than the optimum, they will fail to develop that emotional field which gives to group activity its characteristic quality, while the available quantity of pooled information and experience will be inadequate. If they are larger than the optimum, they will tend to split into sub-groups of the optimum size or, if the constituent individuals remain together in a crowd, there will be a danger of their relapsing into the crowd's sub-human stupidity and emotionality.

The technique of industrial self-government has been discussed with a wealth of concrete examples in a remarkable book by the French economist, Hyacinthe Dubreuil, entitled *A Chacun sa Chance*. Among the writers on industrial organization Dubreuil occupies a place apart; for he is almost the only one of them who has himself had experience of factory conditions as a workman. Accordingly, what he writes on the subject of industrial organization carries an authority denied to the utterances of those who rely on second-hand information as a basis for their theories. Dubreuil points out that even the largest industries can be organized so as to consist of a series of self-governing, yet co-ordinated, groups of, at the outside, thirty members. Within the industry each one of such groups can act as a kind of sub-contractor, undertaking to perform so much of such and such a kind of work for such and such a sum. The equitable division of this sum among the constituent members is left to the group itself, as is also the preservation of discipline, the election of representatives and leaders. The examples which Dubreuil quotes from the annals of industrial history and from his own experience as a workman tend to show that this form of organization is appreciated by the workers, to whom it gives a measure of independence even within the largest manufacturing concern,

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

and that in most cases it results in increased efficiency of working. It possesses, as he points out, the further merit of being a form of organization that educates those who belong to it in the practice of co-operation and mutual responsibility.

Under the present dispensation, the great majority of factories are little despotisms, benevolent in some cases, malevolent in others. Even where benevolence prevails, passive obedience is demanded of the workers, who are ruled by overseers, not of their own election, but appointed from above. In theory, they may be the subjects of a democratic state; but in practice they spend the whole of their working lives as the subjects of a petty tyrant. Dubreuil's scheme, if it were generally acted upon, would introduce genuine democracy into the factory. And if some such scheme is not acted upon, it is of small moment to the individual whether the industry in which he is working is owned by the state, by a co-operative society, by a joint-stock company or by a private individual. Passive obedience to officers appointed from above is always passive obedience, whoever the general in ultimate control may be. Conversely, even if the ultimate control is in the wrong hands, the man who voluntarily accepts rules in the making of which he has had a part, who obeys leaders he himself has chosen, who has helped to decide how much and in what conditions he himself and his companions shall be paid, is to that extent the free and responsible subject of a genuinely democratic government, and enjoys those psychological advantages which only such a form of government can give.

Of modern wage-slaves, Lenin writes that they 'remain to such an extent crushed by want and poverty that they "can't be bothered with democracy," have "no time for politics," and in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participating in public political life.' This statement is only partially

ENDS AND MEANS

true. Not all those who can't be bothered with democracy are debarred from political life by want and poverty. Plenty of well-paid workmen and, for that matter, plenty of the wealthiest beneficiaries of the capitalistic system, find that they can't be bothered with politics. The reason is not economic, but psychological; has its source, not in environment, but in heredity. People belong to different psychophysiological types and are endowed with different degrees of general intelligence. The will and ability to take an effective interest in large-size politics do not belong to all, or even a majority of, men and women. Preoccupation with general ideas, with things and people distant in space, with contingent events remote in future time, is something which it is given to only a few to feel. 'What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?' The answer in most cases is: Nothing whatsoever. An improvement in the standard of living might perceptibly increase the number of those for whom Hecuba meant something. But even if all were rich, there would still be many congenitally incapable of being bothered with anything so far removed from the warm, tangible facts of everyday experience. As things are at present, millions of men and women come into the world disfranchised by nature. They have the privilege of voting on long-range, large-scale political issues; but they are congenitally incapable of taking an intelligent interest in any but short-range, small-scale problems. Too often the framers of democratic constitutions have acted as though man were made for democracy, not democracy for man. The vote has been a kind of bed of Procrustes upon which, however long their views, however short their ability, all human beings were expected to stretch themselves. Not unnaturally, the results of this kind of democracy have proved disappointing. Nevertheless, it remains true that democratic freedom is good for those who enjoy it, and that practice in self-government is an almost indispensable ele-

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

ment in the curriculum of man's moral and psychological education. Human beings belong to different types; it is therefore necessary to create different types of democratic and self-governing institutions, suitable for the various kinds of men and women. Thus, people with short-range, small-scale interests can find scope for their kind of political abilities in self-governing groups within an industry, within a consumer or producer co-operative, within the administrative machinery of the parish, borough or county. By means of comparatively small changes in the existing systems of local and professional organization it would be possible to make almost every individual a member of some self-governing group. In this way the curse of merely passive obedience could be got rid of, the vice of political indolence cured and the advantages of responsible and active freedom brought to all. In this context it is worth remarking on a very significant change which has recently taken place in our social habits. Materially, this change may be summed up as the decline of the community; psychologically, as the decline of the community sense. The reasons for this double change are many and of various kinds. Here are a few of the more important.

Birth-control has reduced the size of the average family and, for various reasons which will be apparent later, the old habits of patriarchal living have practically disappeared. It is very rare nowadays to find parents, married children and grandchildren living together in the same house or in close association. Large families and patriarchal groups were communities in which children and adults had to learn (often by very painful means) the art of co-operation and the need to accept responsibility for others. These admittedly rather crude schools of community sense have now disappeared.

New methods of transport have profoundly modified the life in the village and small town. Up to only a generation

ENDS AND MEANS

ago most villages were to a great extent self-sufficing communities. Every trade was represented by its local technician; the local produce was consumed or exchanged in the neighbourhood; the inhabitants worked on the spot. If they desired instruction or entertainment or religion, they had to mobilize the local talent and produce it themselves. To-day all this is changed. Thanks to improved transport, the village is now closely bound up with the rest of the economic world. Supplies and technical services are obtained from a distance. Large numbers of the inhabitants go out to work in factories and offices in far-off cities. Music and the drama are provided, not by local talent, but over the ether and in the picture theatre. Once all the members of the community were always on the spot; now, thanks to cars, motor cycles and buses the villagers are rarely in their village. Community fun, community worship, community efforts to secure culture have tended to decline, for the simple reason that, in leisure hours, a large part of the community's membership is always somewhere else. Nor is this all. The older inhabitants of Middletown, as readers of the Lynds' classical study of American small-town life will remember, complained that the internal-combustion engine had led to a decline of neighbourliness. Neighbours have Fords and Chevrolets, consequently are no longer there to be neighbourly; or if by chance they should be at home, they content themselves with calling up on the telephone. Technological progress has reduced the number of physical contacts, impoverished the spiritual relations between the members of a community.

Centralized professionalism has not only affected local entertainment; it has also affected the manifestations of local charity and mutual aid. State-provided hospitals, state-provided medical and nursing services are certainly much more efficient than the ministrations of the neighbours. But this increased efficiency is purchased at the

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

price of a certain tendency on the part of neighbours to disclaim liability for one another and throw their responsibilities entirely upon the central authority. Under a perfectly organized system of state socialism charity would be, not merely superfluous, but actually criminal. Good Samaritans would be prosecuted for daring to interfere in their bungling amateurish way with what was obviously a case for state-paid professionals.

The last three generations have witnessed a vast increase in the size and number of large cities. Life is more exciting and more money can be earned in the cities than in villages and small towns. Hence the migration from country to city. In the van of this migrating host have marched the ambitious, the talented, the adventurous. For more than a century there has been a tendency for the most gifted members of small rural communities to leave home and seek their fortunes in the towns. Consequently what remains in the villages and country towns of the industrialized countries is in the nature of a residual population, dysgenically selected for its lack of spirit and intellectual gifts. Why is it so hard to induce peasants and small farmers to adopt new scientific methods? Among other reasons, because almost every exceptionally intelligent child born into a rural family for a century past has taken the earliest opportunity of deserting the land for the city. Community life in the country is thus impoverished; but (and this is the important point) the community life of the great urban centres is not correspondingly enriched. It is not enriched for the good reason that, in growing enormous, cities have also grown chaotic. A metropolitan 'wen,' as Cobbett was already calling the relatively tiny London of his day, is no longer an organic whole, no longer exists as a community, in whose life individuals can fruitfully participate. Men and women rub shoulders with other men and women; but the contact is external and mechanical.

ENDS AND MEANS

Each one of them can say, in the words of the Jolly Miller of the song, 'I care for nobody, no, not I, and nobody cares for me.' Metropolitan life is atomistic. The city, as a city, does nothing to correlate its human particles into a pattern of responsible, communal living. What the country loses on the swings, the city loses all over again on the roundabouts.

In the light of this statement of the principal reasons for the recent decline of the community and of the community sense in individuals, we can suggest certain remedies. For example, schools and colleges can be transformed into organic communities and used to offset, during a short period of the individual's career, the decay in family and village life. (A very interesting experiment in this direction is being made at Black Mountain College in North Carolina.) To some extent, no doubt, the old 'natural' life of villages and small towns, the life that the economic, technological and religious circumstances of the past conspired to impose upon them, can be replaced by a consciously designed synthetic product—a life of associations organized for local government, for sport, for cultural activities and the like. Such associations already exist, and there should be no great difficulty in opening them to larger numbers and, at the same time, in making their activities so interesting that people will wish to join them instead of taking the line of least resistance, as they do now, and living unconnected, atomistic lives, passively obeying during their working hours and passively allowing themselves to be entertained by machinery during their hours of leisure. The existence of associations of this kind would serve to make country life less dull and so do something to arrest the flight towards the city. At the same time, the decentralization of industry and its association with agriculture should make it possible for the countryman to earn as much as the city dweller. In spite of the ease with which

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

electric power can now be distributed, the movement towards the decentralization of industry is not yet a very powerful one. Great centres of population, like London and Paris, possess an enormous power of attraction to industries. The greater the population, the greater the market; and the greater the market, the stronger the gravitational pull exercised upon the manufacturer. New industries establish themselves on the outskirts of large cities and make them become still larger. For the sake of slightly increased profits, due to lower distributing costs, the manufacturers are busily engaged in making London chaotically large, hopelessly congested, desperately hard to enter or leave, and vulnerable to air attacks as no other city of Europe is vulnerable. To compel a rational and planned decentralization of industry is one of the legitimate, the urgently necessary functions of the state.

Life in the great city is atomistic. How shall it be given a communal pattern? How shall the individual be incorporated in a responsible, self-governing group? In a modern city, the problem of organizing responsible community life on a local basis is not easily solved. Modern cities have been created and are preserved by the labours of highly specialized technicians. The massacre of a few thousands of engineers, administrators and doctors would be sufficient to reduce any of the great metropolitan centres to a state of plague-stricken, starving chaos. Accordingly, in most of its branches, the local government of a great city has become a highly technical affair, a business of the kind that must be centrally planned and carried out by experts. The only department in which there would seem to be a possibility of profitably extending the existing institutions of local self-government is the department concerned with police-work and the observance of laws. I have read that in Japan, the cities were, and perhaps still are, divided into wards of about a hundred inhabitants apiece. The people

ENDS AND MEANS

in each ward accepted a measure of liability for one another and were to some extent responsible for good behaviour and the observance of law within their own small unit. That such a system lends itself to the most monstrous abuses under a dictatorial government is obvious. Indeed, it is reported that the Nazis have already organized their cities in this way. But there is no governmental institution that cannot be abused. Elected parliaments have been used as instruments of oppression; plebiscites have served to confirm and strengthen tyranny; courts of justice have been transformed into Star Chambers and military tribunals. Like all the rest, the ward system may be a source of good in a desirable context and a source of unmitigated evil in an undesirable context. It remains in any case a device worth considering by those who aspire to impose a communal pattern upon the atomistic, irresponsible life of modern city dwellers. For the rest, it looks as though the townsman's main experience of democratic institutions and responsible self-government would have to be obtained, not in local administration, but in the fields of industry and economics, of religious and cultural activity, of athletics and entertainment.

In the preceding paragraphs I have tried to answer the first of our questions and have described the methods by which the principle of self-government can be applied to the daily lives of ordinary men and women. Our second question concerns the compatibility of self-government all round with the efficiency of industry in particular and society as a whole. In Russia self-government in industry was tried in the early years of the revolution and was abandoned in favour of authoritarian management. Within the factory discipline is no longer enforced by elected representatives of the Soviet or workers' committee, but by appointees of the Communist Party. The new conception of management current in Soviet Russia was summed up

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

by Kaganovitch in a speech before the seventeenth congress of the Communist Party. 'Management,' he said, 'means the power to distribute material things, to appoint and discharge subordinates, in a word, to be master of the particular enterprise.' This is a definition of management to which every industrial dictator in the capitalist countries would unhesitatingly subscribe.

By supporters of the present Russian government it is said that the change over from self-government to authoritarian management had to be made in the interests of efficiency. That extremely inexperienced and ill-educated workers should have been unable to govern themselves and keep up industrial efficiency seems likely enough. But in Western Europe and the United States such a situation is not likely to arise. Indeed, Dubreuil has pointed out that, as a matter of historical fact, self-government within factories has often led to increased efficiency. It would seem, then, that in countries where all men and women are relatively well educated and have been accustomed for some time to the working of democratic institutions, there is no danger that self-government will lead to a breakdown of discipline within the factory or a decline in output. But, like 'liberty,' the word 'efficiency' covers a multitude of sins. Even if it should be irrefragably demonstrated that self-government in industry invariably led to greater contentment and increased output, even if it could be proved experimentally that the best features of individualism and collectivism could be combined if the state were to co-ordinate the activities of self-governing industries, there would still be complainers of 'inefficiency.' And by their own lights, the complaints would be quite right. For to the ruling classes, not only in the totalitarian, but also in the democratic countries, 'efficiency' means primarily 'military efficiency.' Now, a society in which the principle of self-government has been applied to the ordinary

activities of all its members, is a society which, for purely military purposes, is probably decidedly inefficient. A militarily efficient society is one whose members have been brought up in habits of passive obedience and at the head of which there is an individual exercising absolute authority through a perfectly trained hierarchy of administrators. In time of war, such a society can be manipulated as a single unit and with extraordinary rapidity and precision. A society composed of men and women habituated to working in self-governing groups is not a perfect war-machine. Its members may think and have wills of their own. But soldiers must not think nor have wills. 'Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die.' Furthermore, a society in which authority is decentralized, a society composed of co-ordinated but self-governing parts, cannot be manipulated so swiftly and certainly as a totalitarian society under a dictator. Self-government all round is not compatible with military efficiency. So long as nations persist in using war as an instrument of policy, military efficiency will be prized above all else. Therefore schemes for extending the principle of self-government will either not be tried at all or, if tried, as in Russia, will be speedily abandoned. Inevitably, we find ourselves confronted, yet once more, by the central evil of our time, the overpowering and increasing evil of war. In the next chapter I shall discuss possible methods for dealing with this evil. In what remains of the present chapter, I must try to answer our questions concerning the efficiency of a society made up of co-ordinated self-governing units and the nature of the co-ordinating body.

Dubreuil has shown that even the largest industrial undertakings can be organized so as to consist of a number of co-ordinated but self-governing groups; and he has produced reasons for supposing that such an organization would not reduce the efficiency of the businesses concerned

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

and might even increase it. This small-scale industrial democracy is theoretically compatible with any kind of large-scale control of the industries concerned. It can be (and in certain cases actually has been) applied to industries working under the capitalist system; to businesses under direct state control; to co-operative enterprises; to mixed concerns, like the Port of London Authority, which are under state supervision, but have their own autonomous, functional management. In practice this small-scale industrial democracy, this self-government for all, is intrinsically most compatible with business organizations of the last two kinds—co-operative and mixed. It is almost equally incompatible with capitalism and state Socialism. Capitalism tends to produce a multiplicity of petty dictators, each in command of his own little business kingdom. State Socialism tends to produce a single, centralized, totalitarian dictatorship, wielding absolute authority over all its subjects through a hierarchy of bureaucratic agents.

Co-operatives and mixed concerns already exist and work extremely well. To increase their numbers and to extend their scope would not seem a revolutionary act, in the sense that it would probably not provoke the violent opposition which men feel towards projects involving an entirely new principle. In its effects, however, the act would *be* revolutionary; for it would result in a profound modification of the existing system. This alone is a sufficient reason for preferring these forms of ultimate industrial control to all others. The intrinsic compatibility of the co-operative enterprise and mixed concern with small-scale democracy and self-government all round constitutes yet another reason for the preference. To discuss the arrangements for co-ordinating the activities of partially autonomous co-operative and mixed concerns is not my business in this place. For technical details, the reader is referred once again to the literature of social and economic planning. I

ENDS AND MEANS

will confine myself here to quoting a relevant passage from the admirable essay contributed by Professor David Mitrany to the *Yale Review* in 1934. Speaking of the need for comprehensive planning, Professor Mitrany writes that 'this does not necessarily mean more centralized government and bureaucratic administration.' Public control is just as likely to mean decentralization—as, for instance, the taking over from a nation-wide private corporation of activities and services which could be performed with better results by local authorities. Planning, in fact, if it is intelligent, should allow for a great variety of organization, and should adapt the structure and working of its parts to the requirements of each case.

'A striking change of view on this point is evident in the paradox that the growing demand for state action comes together with a growing distrust of the state's efficiency. Hence, even among Socialists, as may be seen from the more recent Fabian tracts, the old idea of the nationalization of an industry under a government department, responsible to Parliament for both policy and management, has generally been replaced by schemes which even under public ownership provide for autonomous functional managements.' After describing the constitution of such mixed concerns as the Central Electricity Board (set up in England by a Conservative government), the British Broadcasting Corporation and the London Transport Board, Professor Mitrany concludes that it is only 'by some such means that the influence both of politics and of money can be eliminated. Radicals and Conservatives now agree on the need for placing the management of such public undertakings upon a purely functional basis, which reduces the rôle of Parliament or of any other representative body to a distant, occasional and indirect determination of general policy.'

Above these semi-autonomous 'functional managers'

DECENTRALIZATION & SELF-GOVERNMENT

there will have to be, it is clear, an ultimate co-ordinating authority—a group of technicians whose business it will be to manage the managers. What is to prevent the central political executive from joining hands with these technical managers of managers to become the ruling oligarchy of a totalitarian state? The answer is that, so long as nations continue to prepare for the waging of scientific warfare, there is nothing whatever to prevent this from happening—there is every reason, indeed, to suppose that it will happen. In the context of militarism, even the most intrinsically desirable changes inevitably become distorted. In a country which is preparing for modern war, reforms intended to result in decentralization and genuine democracy will be made to serve the purposes of military efficiency—which means in practice that they will be used to strengthen the position of a dictator or a ruling oligarchy.

Where the international context is militaristic, dictators will use the necessity for 'defence' as their excuse for seizing absolute power. But even where there is no threat of war, the temptation to abuse a position of authority will always be strong. How shall our hypothetical managers of managers and the members of the central political executive be delivered from this evil? This point is discussed at some length in the last paragraphs of the chapter on Inequality, to which the reader is referred. Ambition may be checked, but cannot be suppressed by any kind of legal machinery. If it is to be scotched, it must be scotched at the source, by education in the widest sense of the word. In our societies men are paranoiacally ambitious, because paranoiac ambition is admired as a virtue, and successful climbers are adored as though they were gods. More books have been written about Napoleon than about any other human being. The fact is deeply and alarmingly significant. What must be the day-dreams of people for whom the world's most agile social climber and ablest bandit is the hero they most

ENDS AND MEANS

desire to hear about? Duces and Fuehrers will cease to plague the world only when the majority of its inhabitants regard such adventurers with the same disgust as they now bestow on swindlers and pimps. So long as men worship the Caesars and Napoleons, Caesars and Napoleons will duly arise and make them miserable. The proper attitude towards the 'hero' is not Carlyle's, but Bacon's. 'He doth like the ape,' wrote Bacon of the ambitious tyrant, 'he doth like the ape that, the higher he clymbes, the more he shewes his ars.' The hero's qualities are brilliant; but so is the mandril's rump. When all concur in the great Lord Chancellor's judgment of Fuehrers, there will be no more Fuehrers to judge. Meanwhile we must content ourselves by putting merely legal and administrative obstacles in the way of the ambitious. They are a great deal better than nothing; but they can never be completely effective.

Chapter IX

WAR

EVERY road towards a better state of society is blocked, sooner or later, by war, by threats of war, by preparations for war. That is the truth, the odious and inescapable truth, that emerges, plain for all to see, from the discussions contained in the preceding chapters.

Let us very briefly consider the nature of war, the causes of war and the possible alternatives to war, the methods of curing the mania of militarism afflicting the world at the present time.¹

I. *Nature of War*

(i) War is a purely human phenomenon. The lower animals fight duels in the heat of sexual excitement and kill for food and occasionally for sport. But the activities of a wolf eating a sheep or a cat playing with a mouse are no more war-like than the activities of butchers and fox-hunters. Similarly, fights between hungry dogs or rutting stags are like pot-house quarrels and have nothing in common with war, which is mass murder organized in cold blood. Some social insects, it is true, go out to fight in armies; but their attacks are always directed against members of another species. Man is unique in organizing the mass murder of his own species.

¹ Certain passages in this chapter are reprinted with little alteration from articles contributed to *An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism* (London, 1937).

ENDS AND MEANS

(ii) Certain biologists, of whom Sir Arthur Keith is the most eminent, consider that war acts as 'nature's pruning hook,' ensuring the survival of the fittest among civilized individuals and nations. This is obviously nonsensical. War tends to eliminate the young and strong and to spare the unhealthy. Nor is there any reason for supposing that people with traditions of violence and a good technique of war-making are superior to other peoples. The most valuable human beings are not necessarily the most war-like. Nor as a matter of historical fact is it always the most war-like who survive. We can sum up by saying that, so far as individuals are concerned, war selects dysgenically; so far as nations and peoples are concerned it selects purely at random, sometimes ensuring the domination and survival of the more war-like peoples, sometimes, on the contrary, ensuring their destruction and the survival of the unwarlike.

(iii) There exist at the present time certain primitive human societies, such as that of the Eskimos, in which war is unknown and even unthinkable. All civilized societies, however, are war-like. The question arises whether the correlation between war and civilization is necessary and unavoidable. The evidence of archaeology seems to point to the conclusion that war made its appearance at a particular moment in the history of early civilization. There is reason to suppose that the rise of war was correlated with an abrupt change in the mode of human consciousness. This change, as Dr. J. D. Unwin suggests,¹ may itself have been correlated with increased sexual continence on the part of the ruling classes of the war-like societies. The archaeological symptom of this change is the almost sudden appearance of royal palaces and elaborate funerary monuments. The rise of war appears to be connected with the rise of self-conscious leaders, preoccupied with the ideas of personal domination

¹ In *Sex and Culture* (Oxford, 1934).

WAR

and personal survival after death. Even to-day, when economic considerations are supposed to be supreme, ideas of 'glory' and 'immortal fame' still ferment in the minds of the dictators and generals, and play an important part in the causation of war.

(iv) The various civilizations of the world have adopted fundamentally different attitudes towards war. Compare the Chinese and Indian attitudes towards war with the European. Europeans have always worshipped the military hero and, since the rise of Christianity, the martyr. Not so the Chinese. The ideal human being, according to Confucian standards, is the just, reasonable, humane and cultivated man, living at peace in an ordered and harmonious society. Confucianism, to quote Max Weber, 'prefers a wise prudence to mere physical courage and declares that an untimely sacrifice of life is unfitting for a wise man.' Our European admiration for military heroism and martyrdom has tended to make men believe that a good death is more important than a good life, and that a long course of folly and crime can be cancelled out by a single act of physical courage. The mysticism of Lao Tsu (or whoever was the author of the Tao Teh Ching) confirms and completes the rationalism of Confucius. The Tao is an eternal cosmic principle that is, at the same time, the inmost root of the individual's being. Those who would live in harmony with Tao must refrain from assertiveness, self-importance and aggressiveness, must cultivate humility, and return good for evil.

Since the time of Confucius and Lao Tsu, Chinese ideals have been essentially pacifistic. European poets have glorified war; European theologians have found justifications for religious persecution and nationalistic aggression. This has not been so in China. Chinese philosophers and Chinese poets have almost all been anti-militarists. The soldier was regarded as an inferior being, not to be put

ENDS AND MEANS

on the same level with the scholar or administrator. It is one of the tragedies of history that the Westernization of China should have meant the progressive militarization of a culture which, for nearly three thousand years, has consistently preached the pacifist ideal. Conscription was imposed on large numbers of Chinese in 1936, and the soldier is now held up for admiration. Comic, but significant, is the following quotation from the *New York Times* of June 17th, 1937: '*Sin Wan Pao*, Shanghai's leading Chinese language newspaper, advised Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini to-day to follow the examples of General Yang Sen . . . war lord and commander of the Twentieth Army in Szechwan Province. The general has twenty-seven wives. "Only 40 years old, General Yang has a child for every year of his life," the newspaper said. "General Yang has established complete military training for his offspring. It begins when a young Yang reaches the age of 7, with strict treatment by the time the child is 14. The family has an exclusive military camp. When visitors come, the Yang children hold a military reception and march past the guests in strict review order." One laughs; but the unfortunate truth is that General Yang and the forty little Yangs in their strict review order are grotesquely symptomatic of the new, worse, Western spirit of a China that has turned its back on the wisdom of Confucius and Lao Tsu and gone whoring after European militarism. Japanese aggression is bound to intensify this new militaristic spirit in China. Within a couple of generations from now, it is quite possible that China will be an aggressive imperialist power.

Indian pacifism finds its completest expression in the teaching of Buddha. Buddhism, like Hinduism, teaches *ahimsa*, or harmlessness towards all living beings. It forbids even laymen to have anything to do with the manufacture and sale of arms, with the making of poisons

WAR

and intoxicants, with soldiering or the slaughter of animals. Alone of all the great world religions, Buddhism made its way without persecution, censorship or inquisition. In all these respects its record is enormously superior to that of Christianity, which made its way among people wedded to militarism and which was able to justify the bloodthirsty tendencies of its adherents by an appeal to the savage Bronze-Age literature of the Old Testament. For Buddhists, anger is always and unconditionally disgraceful. For Christians, brought up to identify Jehovah with God, there is such a thing as 'righteous indignation.' Thanks to this possibility of indignation being righteous, Christians have always felt themselves justified in making war and committing the most hideous atrocities.

The fact that it should have been possible for the three principal civilizations of the world to adopt three distinct philosophic attitudes towards war is encouraging; for it proves that there is nothing 'natural' about our present situation in relation to war. The existence of war and of our political and theological justifications of war is no more 'natural' than were the sanguinary manifestations of sexual jealousy, so common in Europe up to the beginning of last century and now of such rare occurrence. To murder one's unfaithful wife, or the lover of one's sister or mother, was something that used to be 'done.' Being socially correct, it was regarded as inevitable, a manifestation of unchanging 'human nature.' Such murders are no longer fashionable among the best people, therefore no longer seem to us 'natural.' The malleability of human nature is such that there is no reason why, if we so desire and set to work in the right way, we should not rid ourselves of war as we have freed ourselves from the weary necessity of committing a *crime passionnel* every time a wife, mistress or female relative gets herself seduced. War is not a law of nature, nor even a law of human nature. It exists

ENDS AND MEANS

because men wish it to exist; and we know, as a matter of historical fact, that the intensity of that wish has varied from absolute zero to a frenzied maximum. The wish for war in the contemporary world is widespread and of high intensity. But our wills are to some extent free; we can wish otherwise than we actually do. It is enormously difficult for us to change our wishes in this matter; but the enormously difficult is not the impossible. We must be grateful for even the smallest crumbs of comfort.

II. *Causes of War*

War exists because people wish it to exist. They wish it to exist for a variety of reasons.

(i) Many people like war because they find their peacetime occupations either positively humiliating and frustrating, or just negatively boring. In their studies on suicide Durkheim and, more recently, Halbwachs have shown that the suicide rate among non-combatants tends to fall during war-time to about two-thirds of its normal figure. This decline must be put down to the following causes: to the simplification of life during war-time (it is in complex and highly developed societies that the suicide rate is highest); to the intensification of nationalist sentiment to a point where most individuals are living in a state of chronic enthusiasm; to the fact that life during war-time takes on significance and purposefulness, so that even the most intrinsically boring job is ennobled as 'war-work'; to the artificial prosperity induced, at any rate for a time, by the expansion of war industries; to the increased sexual freedom which is always claimed by societies, all or some of whose members live under the menace of sudden death. Add to this the fact that life in war-time is (or at least was in previous wars) extremely interesting, at least during the first years of the war. Rumour runs riot, and the papers

WAR

are crammed every morning with the most thrilling news. To the influence of the press must be attributed the fact that, whereas during the Franco-Prussian War the suicide rate declined only in the belligerent countries, during the World War a considerable decline was registered even in the neutral states. In 1870 about half the inhabitants of Europe were unable to read, and newspapers were few and expensive. By 1914 primary education had everywhere been compulsory for more than a generation and the addiction to newspaper reading had spread to all classes of the population. Thus even neutrals were able to enjoy, vicariously and at second hand, the exciting experience of war.

Up to the end of the last war non-combatants, except in countries actually subject to invasion, were not in great physical danger. In any future war it is clear that they will be exposed to risks almost, if not quite, as great as those faced by the fighting men. This will certainly tend to diminish the enthusiasm of non-combatants for war. But if it turns out that the effects of air bombardment are less frightful than most experts at present believe they will be, this enthusiasm may not be extinguished altogether, at any rate during the first months of a war. During the last war, a fair proportion of the combatants actually enjoyed some phases at least of the fighting. The escape from the dull and often stultifying routines of peace-time life was welcomed, even though that escape was bought at the price of physical hardship and the risk of death and mutilation. It is possible that conditions in any future war will be so appalling that even the most naturally adventurous and combative human beings will soon come to hate and fear the process of fighting. But until the next war actually breaks out, nobody can have experience of the new conditions of fighting. Meanwhile, all the governments are actively engaged in making a subtle kind of propaganda that is directed against potential enemies, but not

ENDS AND MEANS

against war. They warn their subjects that they will be bombarded from the air by fleets of enemy planes; they persuade or compel them to subject themselves to air-raid drills and other forms of military discipline; they proclaim the necessity of piling up enormous armaments for the purpose of counter-attack and retaliation, and they actually build those armaments to the tune, in most European countries, of nearly or fully half the total national revenue. At the same time they do all in their power to belittle the danger from air raids. Millions of gas-masks are made and distributed with assurances that they will provide complete protection. Those who make such assurances know quite well that they are false. Gas-masks cannot be worn by infants, invalids or the old, and give no protection whatsoever against vesicants and some of the poisonous smokes, which for this reason will be the chemicals chiefly used by the air navies of the world. Meanwhile warnings by impartial experts are either officially ignored or belittled. (The attitude of the Government's spokesman at the British Medical Association meeting at Oxford in 1936, and that of *The Times* in 1937 towards the Cambridge scientists who warned the public against the probable effects of air bombardment, are highly significant in this context.) The whole effort of all the governments is directed, I repeat, to making propaganda against enemies and in favour of war; against those who try to tell the truth about the nature and effects of the new armaments and in favour of manufacturing such armaments in ever-increasing quantities. There are two reasons why such propaganda is as successful as it is. The first, as I have explained in this paragraph, must be sought in the fact that, up to the present, many non-combatants and some combatants have found war a welcome relief from the tedium of peace. The second reason will be set forth in the following paragraph, which deals with another aspect of the psychological causation of war.

WAR

(ii) A principal cause of war is nationalism, and nationalism is immensely popular because it is psychologically satisfying to individual nationalists. Every nationalism is an idolatrous religion, in which the god is the personified state, represented in many instances by a more or less deified king or dictator. Membership of the *ex hypothesi* divine nation is thought of as imparting a kind of mystical pre-eminence. Thus, all 'God's Englishmen' are superior to 'the lesser breeds without the law,' and every individual God's-Englishman is entitled to think himself superior to every member of the lesser breed, even the lordliest and wealthiest, even the most intelligent, the most highly gifted, the most saintly. Any man who believes strongly enough in the local nationalistic idolatry can find in his faith an antidote against even the most acute inferiority complex. Dictators feed the flames of national vanity and reap their reward in the gratitude of millions to whom the conviction that they are participants in the glory of the divine nation brings relief from the gnawing consciousness of poverty, social unimportance and personal insignificance.

Self-esteem has as its complement disparagement of others. Vanity and pride beget contempt and hatred. But contempt and hatred are exciting emotions—emotions from which people 'get a kick.' Devotees of one national idolatry enjoy getting the kick of hatred and contempt for devotees of other idolatries. They pay for that enjoyment by having to prepare for the wars which hatred and contempt render almost inevitable. Another point. In the normal course of events most men and women behave tolerably well. This means that they must frequently repress their anti-social impulses. They find a vicarious satisfaction for these impulses through films and stories about gangsters, pirates, swindlers, bad bold barons and the like. Now, the personified nation, as I have pointed out already, is divine in size, strength and mystical

ENDS AND MEANS

superiority, but sub-human in moral character. The ethics of international politics are precisely those of the gangster, the pirate, the swindler, the bad bold baron. The exemplary citizen can indulge in vicarious criminality, not only on the films, but also in the field of international relations. The divine nation of whom he is mystically a part bullies and cheats, blusters and threatens in a way which many people find profoundly satisfying to their sedulously repressed lower natures. Submissive to the wife, kind to the children, courteous to the neighbours, the soul of honesty in business, the good citizen feels a thrill of delight when his country 'takes a strong line,' 'enhances its prestige,' 'scores a diplomatic victory,' 'increases its territory'—in other words, when it bluffs, bullies, swindles and steals. The nation is a strange deity. It imposes difficult duties and demands the greatest sacrifices and, because it does this and because human beings have a hunger and thirst after righteousness, it is loved. But it is also loved because it panders to the lowest elements in human nature and because men and women like to have excuses to feel pride and hatred, because they long to taste even at second hand the joys of criminality.

So much for the psychological causes of war—or, to be more exact, the psychological background whose existence makes possible the waging of wars. We have now to consider the immediate causes of war. Ultimately, they also are psychological; but since they display special forms of human behaviour and since these special forms of behaviour manifest themselves in certain highly organized fields of activity, we prefer to call them 'political' and 'economic' causes. For the purposes of classification, this is convenient; but the convenience has its disadvantages. We are apt to think of 'politics' and 'economics' as impersonal forces outside the domain of psychology, working in some way on their own and apart from human beings.

WAR

To the extent that human beings are habit-bound and conditioned by their social environment, politics and economics possess a certain limited autonomy; for wherever a social organization exists, individuals tend to submit themselves to the workings of its machinery. But man is not made for the Sabbath, nor is he invariably willing to believe that he is made for the Sabbath. To some extent his will is free, and from time to time he remembers the fact and alters the organizational machinery around him to suit his needs. When this happens the conception of politics and economics as autonomous forces, independent of human psychology, becomes completely misleading. It is convenient, I repeat, to class the economic and political causes of war under separate headings. But we must not forget that all such causes are ultimately psychological in their nature.

(iii) The first of the political causes of war is war itself. Many wars have been fought, among other reasons, for the sake of seizing some strategically valuable piece of territory, or in order to secure a 'natural' frontier—that is to say, a frontier which it is easy to defend and from which it is easy to launch attacks upon one's neighbours. Purely military advantages are almost as highly prized by the rulers of nations as economic advantages. The possession of an army, navy and air force is in itself a reason for going to war. 'We must use our forces now,' so runs the militarist's argument, 'in order that we may be in a position to use them to better effect next time.'

The part played by armaments in causing war may properly be considered under this heading. All statesmen insist that the armaments of their own country are solely for purposes of defence. At the same time, all statesmen insist that the existence of armaments in a foreign country constitutes a reason for the creation of new armaments at home. Every nation is perpetually taking more and more

ENDS AND MEANS

elaborate defensive measures against the more and more elaborate defensive measures of all other nations. The armament race would go on *ad infinitum*, if it did not inevitably and invariably lead to war. Armaments lead to war for two reasons. The first is psychological. The existence of armaments in one country creates fear, suspicion, resentment and hatred in neighbouring countries. In such an atmosphere, any dispute easily becomes envenomed to the point of being made a *casus belli*. The second is technical in character. Armaments become obsolete, and to-day the rate of obsolescence is rapid and accelerating. At the present rate of technological progress an aeroplane is likely to be out of date within a couple of years, or less. This means that, for any given country, there is likely to be an optimum moment of preparedness, a moment when its equipment is definitely superior to that of other nations. Within a very short time this superiority will disappear and the nation will be faced with the task of scrapping its now obsolescent equipment and building new equipment equal to, or if possible better than, the new equipment of its neighbours. The financial strain of such a process is one which only the richest countries can stand for long. For poorer nations it is unendurable. Hence there will always be a strong temptation for the rulers of the poor countries to declare war during the brief period when their own military equipment is superior to that of their rivals.

The fact that armaments are to a great extent manufactured by private firms and that these private firms have a financial interest in selling weapons of war to their own and foreign governments is also a contributory cause of war. This matter will be dealt with in a later section.

(iv) Wars may be made for the purpose of furthering a religious or political creed. The Mohammedan invasions, the Crusades, the Wars of Religion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the French Revolutionary Wars,

WAR

the American Civil War, the Spanish Civil War are all examples of what may be called ideological wars. True, the makers of ideological wars were to some extent influenced by non-ideological considerations—by greed for wealth and dominion, by desire for glory, and the like. But in all cases the ideological motive was paramount. Unless there had been a desire to propagate a new creed or defend an old, these wars would not have been fought. Moreover, the fighting would not have been so bitter as in fact it generally was, if the fighters had not been inspired by religious or pseudo-religious faith. The aim of modern nationalistic propaganda is to transform men's normal affection for their home into a fiercely exclusive worship of the deified nation. Disputes between nations are beginning to take on that uncompromising, fanatical quality which, in the past, characterized the dealings between groups of religious or political sectaries. It looks as though all future wars will be as ferociously ideological as the old wars of religion.

(v) In the past, many wars were fought for the sake of the 'glory' resulting from victory. The glory was generally thought of as belonging to the leader of the army, or the king his master. The Assyrian monarchs fought for glory; so did Alexander the Great; so did many mediaeval kings and lords; so did Louis XIV and the dynasts of eighteenth-century Europe; so did Napoleon; so perhaps will the modern dictators. Where countries are ruled by a single individual at the head of a military oligarchy, there is always a danger that personal vanity and the thirst for glory may act as motives driving him to embroil his country in war.

(vi) Glory is generally regarded as the perquisite of the general or king; but not always or exclusively. In a country whose people are moved by strong nationalistic feelings, glory can be thought of as pertaining in some

ENDS AND MEANS

degree to every member of the community. All Englishmen shared in the glory of their Tudor monarchs; all Frenchmen in that of Louis XIV. During the French Revolution, a deliberate attempt was made to popularize glory by means of written and spoken propaganda. The attempt was fully successful. Similar attempts are being made all over the world to-day. The press, the radio and the film bring national glory within the reach of all. When things go badly at home and his people start to complain, the dictator is always tempted to manufacture a little compensatory glory abroad. Glory was a good deal cheaper in the past than it is to-day. Moreover, the dictatorial war lord of earlier times did not have to consider public opinion to the same extent that even the most absolute of his modern counterparts must do. The reason is simple. In the past the glory-making machine was a small professional army. So long as the battles were being fought at a reasonable distance from their homes, people did not feel much concern about this professional army; its sufferings did not affect them personally, and when it won a victory, they got the glory vicariously and free of charge. To-day every man must serve as a conscript, and the aeroplane has made war almost as dangerous for non-combatants as for front-line fighters. Glory must be paid for by all; war is now the affair of every man, woman and child in the community. The cost of modern war in life and money is so enormous and must be so widely distributed, its possible effects on public opinion and the structure of society so incalculable, that even dictators hesitate to make their people fight except where 'national honour' and 'vital interests' are concerned. Twentieth-century armaments are an insurance against small and trivial wars. On the other hand, they are an absolute guarantee that when 'vital interests' and 'national honour' are at stake, the resulting war shall be unprecedentedly destructive.

WAR

(vii) Of the economic causes of war the first in historical importance is the desire of one nation to possess itself of fertile territory belonging to another nation. Hitler, for example, has stated that the Germans need new territory in which to accommodate their surplus population. If Germany goes to war with Russia it will be, in part at least, to satisfy this real or imaginary craving for more and better land.

In modern times wars have been fought not so much for fertile lands as for the possession or control of raw materials indispensable to industry. The iron ore of Lorraine has been a bone of contention between France and Germany. Japan's activities in Manchuria and Northern China can be explained, at least in part, by need for minerals. Italian and German participation in the Spanish Civil War has not been exclusively motivated by ideological considerations. The two Fascist dictators have their eyes on the copper of Rio Tinto, the iron of Bilbao, which before the outbreak of war were under English control.

(viii) Under capitalism all highly industrialized countries need foreign markets. The reason for this is that, where production is carried on for profit, it is difficult or impossible to distribute enough purchasing power to enable people to buy the things they themselves have produced. Defects in domestic purchasing power have to be made up by finding foreign markets. The imperialistic activities of the great powers during the nineteenth century were directed in large measure towards securing markets for their productions. But—and this is one of the strangest paradoxes of the capitalist system—no sooner has a market been secured, either by conquest or peaceful penetration, than the very industrialists who manufacture for that market proceed to equip the conquered or peacefully penetrated country with the machinery that will enable it to dispense

ENDS AND MEANS

with their goods. Most of the industrially backward countries have been equipped to provide for themselves, and even to export a surplus, by those very capitalists who originally used them as markets for their own productions. Such a policy seems and, on a long view, actually is completely lunatic. On a short view, however, it is sensible enough. Capitalists are concerned not only to sell their production, but also to invest their savings. Savings invested in industrial concerns newly established in backward countries, where the standard of living is low and labour can be sweated, generally bring enormous returns, at any rate during the first years. For the sake of these huge temporary profits capitalists are prepared to sacrifice the smaller but more lasting profits to be derived from using these same backward countries as markets for their productions. In course of time the profits of oversea investment diminish, and meanwhile the markets have been lost for ever. But in the interval capitalists have earned a huge return on their investments.

(ix) This brings us to an extremely important cause of war—the pursuit by politically powerful minorities within each nation of their own private interests. The worst, or at any rate the most conspicuous, offenders in this respect are the manufacturers of armaments. It is unnecessary for me to cite facts and figures; they are available in a number of well-documented, easily accessible books and pamphlets.¹ It is enough to state the following simple generalizations. War and the preparation for war are profitable to the arms manufacturer. The more heavily the nations arm, the greater his profits. This being so, he is tempted to foment war scares, to pit government against government, to use every means in his power, from bribery to ‘patriotic’ propaganda, in order to stultify all efforts at disarmament.

¹ See the relevant works of Seldes and Noel Baker, and the pamphlets published by the Union of Democratic Control.

WAR

The historical records show that the manufacturers of armaments have only too frequently succumbed to these temptations.

One of the measures common to the programmes of all the world's left-wing parties is the nationalization of the arms industry. To a certain extent all states are already in the armaments business. In England, for example, the government arsenals produce about five-twelfths of the nation's arms, private firms about seven-twelfths. Complete nationalization would thus be merely the wider application of a well-established principle.

Now the complete nationalization of the arms industry would certainly achieve one good result: it would liberate governments from the influence of socially irresponsible capitalists, interested solely in making large profits. So far, so good. But the trouble is that this particular reform does not go far enough—goes, in fact, hardly anywhere at all. Armaments are armaments, whoever manufactures them. A plane from a government factory can kill as many women and children as a plane from a factory owned by a private capitalist. Furthermore, the fact that armaments were being manufactured by the state would serve in some measure to legalize and justify an intrinsically abominable practice. The mass of unthinking public opinion would come to feel that an officially sanctioned arms industry was somehow respectable. Consequently the total abolition of the whole evil business would become even more difficult than it is at present. This difficulty would be enhanced by the fact that a central executive having complete control of the arms industry would be very reluctant to part with such an effective instrument of tyranny. For an instrument of tyranny is precisely what a nationalized armaments industry potentially is. The state is more powerful than any private employer, and the personnel of a completely nationalized arms industry could easily be dragooned and

ENDS AND MEANS

bribed into becoming a kind of technical army under the control of the executive.

Finally, we must consider the effect of nationalization upon international affairs. Under the present dispensation adventurers like the late Sir Basil Zaharoff are free (within the limits imposed by the licensing system) to travel about, fanning the flames of international discord and peddling big guns and submarines. This is a state of things which should certainly be changed. But the state of things under a regime of nationalization is only a little better. Once in business, even governments like to make a profit; and the arms business will not cease to be profitable because it has been nationalized. Then, as now, industrially backward states will have to buy arms from the highly industrialized countries. All highly industrialized states will desire to sell armaments, not only for the sake of profits, but also in order to exercise control over the policy of their customers. Inevitably, this will result in the growth of intense rivalry between the industrialized powers—yet another rivalry, yet another potential cause of international discord and war. It would seem, then, that the nationalization of the armaments industry is merely the substitution of one evil for another. The new evil will be less manifest, less morally shocking than the old; but it is by no means certain that, so far as war is concerned, the results of nationalization will be perceptibly better than the results of private manufacture. What is needed is not the nationalization of the arms industry, but its complete abolition. Abolition will come when the majority wish it to come. The process of persuading the majority to wish it will be described in the next chapter.

The manufacturers of armaments are not the only 'merchants of death.' To some extent, indeed, we all deserve that name. For in so far as we vote for governments that impose tariffs and quotas, in so far as we

WAR

support policies of re-armament, in so far as we consent to our country's practice of economic, political and military imperialism, in so far even as we behave badly in private life, we are all doing our bit to bring the next war nearer. The responsibility of the rich and the powerful, however, is greater than that of ordinary men; for they are better paid for what they do to bring war closer and they know more clearly what they are about. Less spectacularly mischievous than the armament makers, but in reality hardly less harmful, are the speculative investors who preach imperialism because they can derive such high returns on their capital in backward countries. To the nation as a whole its colonies may be unprofitable, and actually costly. But to the politically powerful minority of financiers with capital to invest, of industrialists with surplus goods to dispose of, these same colonies may be sources of handsome profits.

The small, but politically powerful, minority of financiers and industrialists is also interested in various forms of economic imperialism. By a judicious use of their resources, the capitalists of highly industrialized nations stake out claims for themselves within nominally independent countries. Those claims are then represented as being the claims of their respective nations, and the quarrels between the various financial interests concerned become quarrels between states. The peace of the world has frequently been endangered, in order that oil magnates might grow a little richer.

In the press, which is owned by rich men, the interests of the investing minority are always identified (doubtless in perfectly good faith) with those of the nation as a whole. Constantly repeated statements come to be accepted as truths. Innocent and ignorant, most newspaper readers are convinced that the private interests of the rich are really public interests and become indignant whenever these

ENDS AND MEANS

interests are menaced by a foreign power, intervening on behalf of *its* investing minority. The interests at stake are the interests of the few; but the public opinion which demands the protection of these interests is often a genuine expression of mass emotion. The many really feel and believe that the dividends of the few are worth fighting for.

(x) *Remedies and Alternatives*.—So much for the nature and causes of war. We must now consider, first, the methods for preventing war from breaking out and for checking it once it has begun and, second, the political alternatives and psychological equivalents to war.

It will be best to begin with the existing methods of war preventions. These methods are not conspicuously successful for two good reasons: first, they are in many cases of such a nature that they cannot conceivably produce the desired results and, second, even when intrinsically excellent, they are not calculated to eliminate the existing causes of war or to provide psychologically equivalent substitutes for war. Accordingly, after describing and discussing the methods at present in use, I shall go on to outline the methods which should be used, if the causes of war are to be eliminated and suitable alternatives to war created.

The hopes which so many men and women of good will once rested in the League of Nations have been disappointed. The failure of the League of Nations to secure the pacification of the world is due in part to historical accident, but mainly to the fact that it was based on entirely wrong principles. The historical accident which stultified the League's ability to do good was the refusal of the Americans to join it and the exclusion for many years of the 'enemy powers' and Russia. But even if America, Germany and Russia had all been original members, it is still as certain as any contingency can be that the League would not have produced the good results expected of it. The League admits to membership any community, how-

WAR

ever small, which possesses an army of its own. No community, however large, which does not possess an army is eligible. In practice and by implication the League defines a nation as 'a society organized for war.' And effectively this is the only definition of a nation that applies to all the existing members of the class. Every other definition, in terms of race, of colour, of language, of culture and even of simple topography, is proved to be inadequate by the existence of exceptions. Formally and in fact, the League of Nations is a league of societies organized for war.

The militarism which is built into the very definition of the League finds expression in the means whereby, under its present constitution, it is proposed to secure peace. The framers of the League Covenant did what many of the framers of the American Constitution desired to do, but were fortunately dissuaded by Alexander Hamilton from doing: they inserted a clause decreeing first economic and then military sanctions against an 'aggressor.'

Sanctions are objectionable for exactly the same reasons as war is objectionable. Military sanctions *are* war. Economic sanctions, if applied with vigour, must inevitably lead to war-like reactions on the part of the nation to which they are applied, and these war-like reactions can only be countered by military sanctions. Sanctionists call their brand of war by high-sounding names. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by mere words. In the actual circumstances of the present day, 'collective security' means a system of military alliances opposed to another system of military alliances. The first system calls itself the League; the second is nominated in advance 'the Aggressor.'

Once war has broken out, nations will consult their own interests whether to fight or remain neutral; they will not permit any international agreement to dictate their course

ENDS AND MEANS

of action. Speaking on November 20th, 1936, Mr. Eden stated that 'our armaments may be used in bringing help to a victim of aggression in any case where, in our judgment, it would be proper under the provision of the Covenant to do so. I use the word "may" deliberately, since in such an instance there is no automatic obligation to take military action. It is, moreover, right that this should be so, for nations cannot be expected to incur automatic military obligations save for areas where their vital interests are concerned.' Upholding the League Covenant is not regarded as a vital interest by any nation. Nor, so far as Article XVI is concerned, ought it to be so regarded. Justice, like charity, begins at home, and no government has the moral right gratuitously to involve its subjects in war. War is so radically wrong that any international agreement which provides for the extension of hostilities from a limited area to the whole world is manifestly based upon unsound principles. Modern war destroys with the maximum of efficiency and the maximum of indiscriminate, and therefore entails the commission of injustices far more numerous and far worse than any it is intended to redress. It is worth remarking in this context that it is now possible to be an orthodox Catholic and a complete pacifist. To condemn war as such and to refuse, as the Quakers and other Protestant sects have done, to participate in any war whatsoever, is heretical. St. Thomas has laid it down that war is justified when waged in defence of the vital interests of a community. Starting from the Thomist position, certain Catholic thinkers, notably in Holland and England, have reached the conclusion that, though it may be heretical to condemn war as war, one can be a complete pacifist in relation to war in its contemporary form and still remain orthodox. War is justified when it is waged in defence of the vital interests of the community. But the nature of modern war is such that

WAR

the vital interests of the community cannot be defended by it; on the contrary, they must inevitably suffer more from the waging of war than they would suffer by non-resistance to violence. Therefore, in the circumstances of the present time, complete pacifism is reasonable, right and even orthodox. Bertrand Russell's pacifism is based upon exactly the same considerations of expediency as that of these neo-Thomists. His and their arguments are peculiarly relevant to the problem of sanctions. For what the sanctionists demand is that wars which, in the very nature of things, cannot do anything except destroy the vital interests of the communities concerned in them, should be automatically transformed from wars between two or a few nations into universal combats, bringing destruction and injustice to all the peoples of the world.

To this contention sanctionists reply by asserting that the mere display of great military force by League members will be enough to deter would-be aggressors. The greater your force, the slighter the probability that you will have to use it; therefore, they argue, re-arm for the sake of peace. The facts of history do not bear out this contention. Threats do not frighten the determined nor do the desperate shrink before a display of overwhelming force. Moreover, in the contemporary world, there is no reason to suppose that the force mustered against an aggressor will be overwhelming. 'The League' and 'the Aggressor' will be two well-matched sets of allied powers. Indeed, the composition of these two alliances is already pretty well settled. France, Russia, and probably England are booked to appear as 'The League'; Italy, Germany and Japan as 'the Aggressor.' The smaller nations will remain neutral, or back whichever side they think is likely to win. As for the sanctionist's exhortation to re-arm for the League and for peace, this is merely a modern version of *si vis pacem, para bellum*. Those who prepare for war start up an

ENDS AND MEANS

armament race and, in due course, get the war they prepare for.

According to sanctionist theory, the League is to take military action in order to bring about a just settlement of disputes. But the prospects of achieving a just settlement at the end of a League war are no better than at the end of any other kind of war. Wars result in just settlements only when the victors behave with magnanimity, only when they make amends for violence by being just and humane. But when wars have been fierce and prolonged, when the destruction has been indiscriminate and on an enormous scale, it is extraordinarily difficult for the victor to behave magnanimously, or even with justice. Passions ran so high in the last war that it was psychologically impossible for the conquerors to make a just and humane settlement. In spite of Wilson and his Fourteen Points, they imposed the Treaty of Versailles—the treaty which made it inevitable that a Hitler should arise and that Germany should seek revenge for past humiliations. A war waged by League members allied to impose military sanctions on an aggressor will probably be at least as destructive as the war of 1914-18—possibly far more destructive. Is there any reason to suppose that the victorious League—that is, if it is victorious—will be in a more magnanimous mood than were the Allies in 1918? There is no such reason. The sanctionists are cherishing the old illusion of ‘the war to end war.’ But wars do not end war; in most cases they result in an unjust peace that makes inevitable the outbreak of a war of revenge.

In this context it is worth mentioning the project for an ‘international police force’ sponsored by the New Commonwealth and approved, so far as the international air-police force is concerned, by the British Labour Party. First, we must point out that the phrase ‘international police force’ is completely misleading. Police action against an

WAR

individual criminal is radically different from action by a nation or group of nations against a national criminal. The police act with the maximum of precision; they go out and arrest the guilty person. Nations and groups of nations act through their armed forces, which can only act with the maximum of imprecision, killing, maiming, starving and ruining millions of human beings, the overwhelming majority of whom have committed no crime of any sort. The process, which all self-righteous militarists, from plain jingo to sanctionist and international policemen, describe as 'punishing a guilty nation,' consists in mangling and murdering innumerable innocent individuals. To draw analogies between an army and a police force, between war (however 'righteous' its aim) and the prevention of crime, is utterly misleading. An 'international police force' is not a police force and those who call it by that name are trying, consciously or unconsciously, to deceive the public. What they assimilate to the, on the whole, beneficent policeman is in fact an army and air force, equipped to slaughter and destroy. We shall never learn to think correctly unless we call things by their proper names. The international police force, if it were ever constituted, would not be a police force; it would be a force for perpetrating indiscriminate massacres. If you approve of indiscriminate massacres, then you must say so. You have no right to deceive the unwary by calling your massacre-force by the same name as the force which controls traffic and arrests burglars.

This International Massacre-Force does not yet exist and, quite apart from any question of desirability, it seems almost infinitely improbable that it ever will exist. How is such a force to be recruited? how officered? how armed? where located? Who is to decide when it is to be used and against whom? To whom will it owe allegiance and how is its loyalty to be guaranteed? Is it likely that the

ENDS AND MEANS

staff officers of the various nations will draw up plans for the invasion and conquest of their own country? or that aviators will loyally co-operate in the slaughter of their own people? How can all nations be persuaded to contribute men and materials towards the international force? Should the contributions be equal? If they are not equal and a few great powers supply the major part of the force, what is to prevent these powers from establishing a military tyranny over the whole world? The project sponsored by the New Commonwealth and the Labour Party combines all the moral and political vices of militarism with all the hopeless impracticability of a Utopian dream. In the language of the stud book, the International Police Force may be described as by Machiavelli out of News from Nowhere.

Morality and practical common sense are at one in demanding that efforts to create an 'International Police Force' shall be strenuously resisted and that Article XVI shall be removed from the Covenant. The effort to stop war, once it has broken out, by means of military sanctions or the action of an international army and air force is foredoomed to failure. War cannot be stopped by more war. All that more war can do is to widen the area of destruction and place new obstacles in the way of reaching a just and humane settlement of international disputes. It should be the business of the League to concentrate all its energies on the work of preventing wars from breaking out. This it can do by developing existing machinery for the peaceable settlement of international disputes; by extending the field of international co-operation in the study and solution of outstanding social problems; and finally, by devising means for eliminating the causes of war.

About the machinery of peaceful settlement and international co-operation it is unnecessary to say very much.

WAR

A machine may be exquisitely ingenious and of admirable workmanship, but if people refuse to use it, or use it badly, it will be almost or completely useless. This is the case with the machinery of peaceful change and international co-operation. It has been in existence for a long time, and if the governments of the various nations had always wished to make use of it, it would have served its purpose—the preservation of peace—with admirable efficiency. But governments have not always wished to make use of it. Wherever ‘national honour’ and ‘vital interests’ were concerned, they have preferred to threaten or actually make use of violence. Even in cases where they have consented to employ the machinery of peaceful settlement, they have sometimes displayed such bad will that the machine has been unable to function. A good example of the way in which bad will can prevent even the best arbitral machinery from producing the results it is meant to produce is supplied by the history of the dispute between Chile and Peru over the provinces of Tacna and Arica. The dispute began in 1883, when the Treaty of Ancon provided that the two provinces should remain in the possession of Chile for a period of ten years, after which a plebiscite should be held, to decide whether the territory should remain Chilean or revert to Peruvian sovereignty. The treaty was ambiguous inasmuch as it did not specify whether the plebiscite should be held immediately after the expiry of the ten-year period, nor by which power and under whose laws it should be organized. The Chileans made use of this ambiguity to delay the holding of the plebiscite until such time as, by intimidating and expelling the Peruvian inhabitants and importing Chileans, they should be sure of securing a majority. Direct negotiations were tried and failed. An appeal to the League of Nations in 1920 proved abortive. Finally, arbitration by the President of the United States was accepted in 1925 and it

ENDS AND MEANS

was agreed that a plebiscite should be held under the auspices of a commission, presided over by General Pershing. But the Chileans still had no intention of allowing the machine to work. Pershing retired in 1926 and his successor, General Lassiter, had to declare that the commission must be dissolved without fulfilling its mission. Finally, in 1928, under friendly pressure from the United States, the two countries resumed diplomatic relations (they had been interrupted for nearly twenty years) and, in 1929, agreed to accept the arbitration of President Hoover, who finally settled the matter by assigning Tacna to Peru and Arica to Chile. This international quarrel lasted for forty-six years. From the first both sides had agreed to make use of the machinery of peaceful change (a plebiscite and the payment of a monetary compensation). But from the first one of the parties refused to allow the machine to work as it should. In the end sheer boredom took the place of good will. The Chileans couldn't be bothered to persist any longer in their intransigence. The machine was permitted to function and within a few months turned out the peaceful solution which it had been expressly contrived to produce.

The case of the Anglo-American dispute over the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick is very similar to that of the more recent dispute between Chile and Peru. After years of bickering, the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands was accepted in 1827; but when, in 1831, he made his award, the United States rejected it. The dispute dragged on, becoming progressively more acrimonious, for another eleven years. Then, growing weary of the whole matter, both sides decided that it was time to make a settlement. Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington to negotiate with the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, and in a very short time the Maine boundary and a number of other outstanding differences

WAR

between the two countries were amicably settled. Here again the machinery of peaceful change produced the results it was designed to produce only when the parties concerned were willing to use it as it was meant to be used. Another significant point is that the negotiations between the two countries were greatly facilitated by the fact that the two negotiators, Webster and Ashburton, were personal friends and enjoyed, in their respective countries, a high reputation for integrity and good sense. Consequently the process of negotiation was easy and its results, though attacked by extremists on both sides of the Atlantic, were acceptable to the majority of ordinary, moderate men, who trusted in the judgment and honesty of the negotiators. For the arbitrator even more, perhaps, than for the negotiator, character is the supreme asset. Any suspicion that the judge in an international dispute is partial, corrupt or merely injudicious, is enough to imperil the success of the arbitration. Here again we see that the machine itself is of secondary importance; what matters is the will, the intelligence, and the moral character of the men who use the machine. That machinery should exist and that it should be the best that legal and administrative ingenuity can devise is essential. The mere fact that the machinery is there is a hint to the disputants that they ought to use it, rather than resort to armed violence. Opportunity helps to make the good man as well as the thief. It is important, as we have seen, to deliver men from evil by reducing the number of opportunities for behaving badly. It is equally important to create new opportunities for behaving well, to provide desirable alternatives to the evil courses prescribed by tradition. Such institutions as the Hague Court and, in its arbitral and co-operative capacity, the League of Nations, are merely pieces of judicial and administrative machinery and can do nothing of themselves to preserve peace or cure the

ENDS AND MEANS

world of its militaristic insanity. Their existence, however, is an invitation and an opportunity to use peaceful instead of violent methods; and the better the machinery, the more effectively will men be able to exploit the opportunity, once it has been seized.

All the existing methods of preventing war are characterized by one or other of two principal defects. Either they are, like military sanctions, intrinsically bad and so incapable of producing any but bad results—the results of using unlimited violence and cunning are exactly the same, whether you call the process plain war or employ such charming euphemisms as ‘Sanctions,’ ‘Collective Security,’ ‘International Police Action’)—or else they are merely pieces of more or less well-designed machinery, incapable by themselves of affecting the fundamental causes of war. This is true even of the special pieces of machinery set up from time to time since the War for the special purpose of eliminating some at least of the economic, political and military causes of war. The Naval Conference of 1927 and the general Disarmament Conference of 1932-34 were excellent pieces of machinery. But unfortunately none of the parties concerned showed the smallest desire to make use of them. During the 1927 conference the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, and the American Brown Boveri Corporation employed a Mr. Shearer to make anti-British propaganda both at Geneva and in the United States, with a view to preventing any agreement on a reduction in naval armaments from being reached. Mr. Shearer was extremely active, and, feeling that he had been inadequately remunerated, sued the three companies in 1929 for a quarter of a million dollars, ‘for services rendered.’ The companies could probably have saved their money. Even without Mr. Shearer’s intervention, it is pretty certain that the

WAR

negotiations would have resulted in no serious diminution of the British and American navies. At the general Disarmament Conference the determination not to use the machine was manifested even more clearly than in 1927. No government was willing so much as to consider unilateral disarmament, and even the Soviet suggestion of complete disarmament all round was ruled out of order before the Conference had begun. The discussions dragged on for two years—discussions concerned not with disarmament, but with the kind of weapons to be used in the next war. Finally the Conference was adjourned *sine die* and the various powers set to work to re-arm on a scale unprecedented in human history.

The same obstinate refusal to make use of intrinsically excellent machinery has been displayed at the various conferences on economic and monetary problems. All the economists are agreed that international trade cannot become normal unless tariff barriers are lowered, the quota system abolished, and some satisfactory medium of international exchange established. Nor is this all. Everyone knows that economic warfare, carried on by competitive currency devaluations, by tariffs, quotas and export bounties, is bound to lead sooner or later to military warfare. Nevertheless, no government has shown itself ready to make use of any of the excellent machinery specially designed for the purpose of solving the world's economic problems.

It is the same with the Mandate System. The Mandate System is a machine which makes it possible for backward peoples to be placed under the control of an international authority, not under the exclusive rule of a single nation. In regard to colonies, the world is at present divided into two camps of Haves and Have-nots. The Haves adopt the motto of the British Navy League: What I have I hold. The Have-nots demand a place in the sun, or in more vulgar language, a share in the loot. In recent years these demands

ENDS AND MEANS

have become particularly insistent and menacing. The Haves have consequently found it necessary to re-arm, among other reasons, in order to defend their colonies. In the days when sea-power was all important, the defence of a 'far-flung empire' was relatively easy. To-day it is, to say the least of it, exceedingly difficult. It has been repeatedly suggested that the imperial powers should renounce their claim to exclusive ownership of colonies and, using the machinery of the Mandate System, place their colonial territories under international control. By doing this they would allay the envy and resentment of the Have-not countries, appreciably lessen the probability of war, and solve the, at present, almost insoluble problem of imperial defence. This suggestion has not been acted upon by any colony-owning country. On the contrary, it has been indignantly rejected. All the governments concerned, from that of Great Britain to that of Portugal, have expressed the determination to shed the last drop of their subjects' blood before yielding a foot of colonial territory. The British government has done more than refuse to transfer its colonies to the League of Nations: it has chosen the moment when it no longer possesses command of the seas and when, even if it did possess it, such command would be of little use, to reverse the free-trade policy by means of which its predecessors (though at the head of a country incomparably stronger and less vulnerable than contemporary Britain) thought fit to placate the envy of other powers. It has closed the doors of its colonies to the trade of other nations, thus forcibly reminding them of their own poverty and giving them new grievances against the British Empire. It is one of the absurd paradoxes of the present situation that those Englishmen who are most anxious to establish friendly relations with the dictatorships, especially Germany and Italy, are precisely those who are loudest in their denunciations of the only scheme by means

WAR

of which these Have-not States might be placated. Being militarists, they want to make friends with other militarists; being jingoes, they cannot accept the conditions upon which such a friendship might be formed—the conditions upon which, incidentally, it might be possible to get rid of militarism altogether. The machinery of the Mandate System is there, ready to be used; but nobody is willing to extend its present operations and, even in the existing mandated territories, the mandatory powers are tending to disregard their international obligations and to treat their mandates as plain unvarnished colonies.

Machinery has been devised by the League for the purpose of securing the elementary rights of individuals belonging to minorities, racially or linguistically distinct from the majority of the inhabitants of their country. From the first the governments in control of countries containing such minorities have shown themselves reluctant to make use of this machinery, and recently the reluctance has been transformed, in a number of cases, into downright refusal. It is known by all concerned that maltreatment of minorities begets bad feeling, both at home and abroad. Nevertheless, the governments concerned refuse to use the machinery of conciliation and obstinately persist in oppressing those of their unhappy subjects who have noses of the wrong shape or speak the wrong language.

The machinery for peaceful change is ready and waiting; but nobody uses it, because nobody wants to use it. Wherever we turn we find that the real obstacles to peace are human will and feeling, human convictions, prejudices, opinions. If we want to get rid of war we must get rid first of all its psychological causes. Only when this has been done will the rulers of the nations even desire to get rid of the economic and political causes.

By definition and in fact the League of Nations is, as we have seen, a league of societies prepared for war. That

ENDS AND MEANS

those who rule such essentially militaristic societies should take the initiative in eliminating the causes of war is, of course, enormously improbable. One cannot be the ruler of a militaristic society unless one is oneself a militarist, unless one accepts the beliefs and cherishes the sentiments which result in a militaristic policy. This being so, it is perfectly clear that most of the work of transforming the modern militaristic community into a community that desires peace and that proves the genuineness of its desire by pursuing only such policies as make for peace, will have to be done by private individuals, acting either alone or in association. Reforms are seldom initiated by the rulers of a nation. They have their source at the periphery and work gradually inwards towards the centre, till at last the strength of the reforming movement is so great that its leaders either become the government or the existing government adopts its principles and carries out its policies. With the work which will have to be done by private individuals and associations, I shall speak in the next chapter. In what remains of the present chapter I shall consider one by one the psychological causes of war, as outlined in earlier paragraphs, and point out how they might be eliminated.

(i) War, as we have seen, is tolerated, and by some even welcomed, because peace-time occupations seem boring, humiliating and pointless.

The application of the principle of self-government to industry and business should go far to deliver men and women in subordinate positions from the sense of helpless humiliation which is induced by the need of obeying the arbitrary orders of irresponsible superiors; and the fact of being one of a small co-operative group should do something to make the working life of its members seem more interesting. Heightened interest can also be obtained by suitably rearranging the individual's tasks. Fourier insisted

WAR

long ago on the desirableness of variety in labour, and in recent years his suggestion has been acted upon, experimentally, in a number of factories in Germany, America, Russia and elsewhere. The result has been a diminution of boredom and, in many cases, an increase in the volume of production. Tasks may be varied slightly, as when a worker in a cigarette factory is shifted from the job of feeding tobacco into a machine to the job of packing and weighing. Or they may be varied radically and fundamentally, as when workers alternate between industrial and agricultural labour. In both cases the psychological effects seem to be good.

(ii) It was suggested that the war-time decline in the suicide rate was due, among other things, to the heightened significance and purposefulness of life during a national emergency. At such a time the end for which all are striving is clearly seen; duties are simple and explicit; the vagueness and uncertainty of peace-time ideals gives place to the sharp definition of the war-time ideal, which is: victory at all costs; the bewildering complexities of the peace-time social patterns are replaced by the beautifully simple pattern of a community fighting for its existence. Danger heightens the sense of social solidarity and quickens patriotic enthusiasm. Life takes on sense and meaning and is lived at a high pitch of emotional intensity.

The apparent pointlessness of modern life in time of peace and its lack of significance and purpose are due to the fact that, in the Western world at least, the prevailing cosmology is what Mr. Gerald Heard has called the 'mechanomorphic' cosmology of modern science. The universe is regarded as a great machine pointlessly grinding its way towards ultimate stagnation and death; men are tiny offshoots of the universal machine, running down to their own private death; physical life is the only real life; mind is a mere product of body; personal success and material well-being

ENDS AND MEANS

are the ultimate measures of value, the things for which a reasonable person should live. Introduced suddenly to this mechanomorphic cosmology, many of the Polynesian races have refused to go on multiplying their species and are in process of dying of a kind of psychological consumption. Europeans are of tougher fibre than the South Sea Islanders, and besides, they have had nearly three hundred years in which to become gradually acclimatized to the new cosmology. But even they have felt the effects of mechanomorphism. They move through life hollow with pointlessness, trying to fill the void within them by external stimuli—newspaper reading, day-dreaming at the films, radio music and chatter, the playing and above all the watching of games, 'good times' of every sort. Meanwhile any doctrine that offers to restore point and purpose to life is eagerly welcomed. Hence the enormous success of the nationalistic and communistic idolatries which deny any meaning to the universe as a whole, but insist on the importance and significance of certain arbitrarily selected parts of the whole—the deified nation, the divine class.

Nationalism first became a religion in Germany during the Napoleonic wars. Communism took its rise some fifty years later. Those who did not become devotees of the new idolatries either remained Christians, clinging to doctrines that became intellectually less and less acceptable with every advance of science, or else accepted mechanomorphism and became convinced of the pointlessness of life. The World War was a product of nationalism and was tolerated and even welcomed by the great masses of those who found life pointless. War brought only a passing relief to the victims of mechanomorphic philosophy. Disillusion, fatigue and cynicism succeeded the initial enthusiasm, and when it was over, the sense of pointlessness became a yawning abyss that demanded to be filled with ever more and intenser distractions, ever better 'good

WAR

times.' But good times are not a meaning or a purpose; the void could never be filled by them. Consequently when the nationalists and communists appeared with their simple idolatries and their proclamation that, though life might mean nothing as a whole it did at least possess a temporary and partial significance, there was a powerful reaction away from the cynicism of the post-war years. Millions of young people embraced the new idolatrous religions, found a meaning in life, a purpose for their existence, and were ready, in consequence, to make sacrifices, accept hardships, display courage, fortitude, temperance and indeed all the virtues except the essential and primary ones, without which all the rest may serve merely as the means for doing evil more effectively. Love and awareness—these are the primary, essential virtues. But nationalism and communism are partial and exclusive idolatries that inculcate hatred, pride, hardness, and impose that intolerant dogmatism that cramps intelligence and narrows the field of interest and sympathetic awareness.

The 'heads' of pointlessness has as its 'tails' idolatrous nationalism and communism. Our world oscillates from a neurasthenia that welcomes war as a relief from boredom to a mania that results in war being made. The cure for both these fearful maladies is the same—the inculcation of a cosmology more nearly corresponding to reality than either mechanomorphism or the grotesque philosophies underlying the nationalistic and communistic idolatries. This cosmology and the ethical consequences of its acceptance will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. My next task is to deal with the part that can and must be played by private individuals in the carrying through of desirable changes.

Chapter X

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

WE have seen that the only effective methods for carrying out large-scale social reforms are non-violent methods. Violence produces only the results of violence and the attempt to impose reforms by violent methods is therefore foredoomed to failure. The only cases in which violent methods succeed are those where initial violence is rapidly followed by compensatory acts of justice, humane-ness, sympathetic understanding and the like. This being so, mere common sense demands that we shall begin with non-violence and not run the risk of stultifying the whole process of reform by using violence, even as an initial measure.

Non-violent methods of reform are likely to succeed only where a majority of the population is either actively in favour of the reform in question, or at least not prepared actively to oppose it. Where the majority is not either favourable or passively neutral to the reform, violent attempts to impose it are certain to lead to failure.

In communities ruled by hereditary monarchs it has sometimes happened that an exceptionally enlightened king has tried to make reforms which, though intrinsically desirable, did not happen to be desired by the mass of his people. Akhnaton's is a case in point. Such efforts at reform made by rulers too far advanced to be understood by their subjects are likely to meet with partial or complete failure.

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

In countries where rulers are chosen by popular vote there is no likelihood that startlingly novel and unacceptable reforms will be initiated by the central authority. In such countries the movement for reform must always start at the periphery and move towards the centre. Private individuals, either alone or in groups, must formulate the idea of reform and must popularize it among the masses. When it has become sufficiently popular, it can be incorporated into the legislation of the community.

In the modern world, as we have seen, the great obstacle to all desirable change is war. The cardinal, the indispensable reform is therefore a reform in the present policy of national communities in regard to one another. To-day all nations conduct their foreign policy on militaristic principles. Some are more explicitly, more noisily and vulgarly militaristic than others; but all, even those that call themselves democratic and pacific, consistently act upon the principles of militarism. It is hardly conceivable that any desirable reform in this direction should be initiated by those who now hold political power. The movement of reform must therefore come from private individuals. It is the business of these private individuals to persuade the majority of their fellows that the policy of pacifism is preferable to that of militarism. When and only when they have succeeded, it will become possible to change those militaristic national policies which make the outbreak of another war all but inevitable and which, by doing this, hold up the whole process of desirable change.

It may be objected that the majority of men and women all over the world ardently desire peace and that therefore there is no need for private individuals to make propaganda in favour of peace. In reply to this I may quote a profoundly significant phrase from *The Imitation*, 'All men desire peace, but very few desire those things which make

ENDS AND MEANS

for peace.' The truth is, of course, that one can never have something for nothing. The voters in every country desire peace. But hardly any of them are prepared to pay the price of peace. In the modern world the 'things that make for peace' are disarmament, unilateral if necessary; renunciation of exclusive empires; abandonment of the policy of economic nationalism; determination in all circumstances to use the methods of non-violence; systematic training in such methods. How many of the so-called peace-lovers of the world love these indispensable conditions of peace? Few indeed. The business of private individuals is to persuade their fellows that the things that make for peace are not merely useful as means to certain political ends, but are also valuable as methods for training individuals in the supreme art of non-attachment.

Individuals can work either alone or in association with other like-minded individuals. The work of the solitary individual is mainly preliminary to the work of the individuals in association. The solitary individual can undertake one or both of two important tasks: the task of intellectual clarification; the task of dissemination. He can be a theorist, a sifter of ideas, a builder of systems; or he can be a propagandist either of his own or others' ideas. To put it crudely, he can be either a writer or a public speaker. Both these tasks are useful and even indispensable, but both, I repeat, are preliminary to the greater and more difficult task which must be accomplished by individuals in association. Their task is to act upon the ideas of the solitary writer or speaker, to make practical applications of what were merely theories, to construct here and now small working-models of the better society imagined by the prophets; to educate themselves here and now into specimens of those ideal individuals described by the founders of religions. Success in such a venture is doubly valuable. If the success is on a large scale, the

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

existing social and economic order will have undergone a perceptible modification for the better. At the same time the demonstration that the new theories may be made to produce desirable results in practice will act as the best possible form of propaganda on their behalf. Most people find example more convincing than argument. The fact that a theory has actually worked is a better recommendation for its soundness than any amount of ingenious dialectics.

At almost every period and in almost every country private individuals have associated for the purpose of initiating desirable change and of working out for themselves a way of life superior to that of their contemporaries. In the preservation and development of civilization these groups of devoted individuals have played a very important part and are destined, I believe, to play a part no less important in the future. Let us briefly consider the lessons to be drawn from their history.

The first condition of success is that all the members of such associations should accept the same philosophy of life and should be whole-heartedly determined to take their full share in the work for whose accomplishment the association was founded. This condition was fulfilled, on many occasions and for considerable stretches of time, in the history of Christian and Buddhist monasticism. It was not fulfilled in the case of many of the political and religious communities founded in America during the nineteenth century. The experiment of New Harmony, for example, was foredoomed to failure, because the founder of the community, Robert Owen, made no attempt to exclude unsuitable collaborators. New Harmony was colonized by people of the most diverse opinions, a large proportion of whom were either failures, cranks or swindlers. Its life was consequently short and squalid; its conclusion ignominious. John Humphrey Noyes, on the other hand,

ENDS AND MEANS

was always careful to admit into his fold only those who had successfully undergone a long period of probation. That was one of the reasons why the Oneida Community prospered, materially and spiritually.

The next essential is that such associations should be founded for the pursuit of noble ends and in the name of a high ideal. The fact that a community demands considerable sacrifices from its members, imposes a strict discipline and exacts unremitting effort is not a disadvantage. On the contrary, if the goal is felt to be worth achieving, men and women are glad to make sacrifices. The Trappist rule attracted the greatest number of postulants at the time when, under the abbacy of Dom Augustine de Lestrange, its observances had been made unprecedentedly strict. For those who accepted the Christian cosmology, the practice of such austerities as were imposed by the Trappist Rule was logical enough. For those with a different conception of ultimate reality, it would make no sense whatever. La Trappe is not cited here as an example to be imitated, but merely to show that even unnecessary and supererogatory hardships may be cheerfully accepted for God's sake. And not for God's sake only. In the contemporary world every political cause, from Communism to Nazism, has attracted its army of devotees—men and women who were ready to accept poverty and discomfort, incessant labour and the risk of imprisonment and sometimes even death. By those who are convinced that their cause is good, suffering is not feared and avoided; it is even welcomed.

All over the world and at all times associations of devoted individuals have exhibited one common characteristic: property has been held in common and all members have been vowed to personal poverty. In some communities, Hindu, Buddhist and Christian, it has been the custom for members to beg their bread. Others have

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

preferred to work for their living. Associations of devoted individuals command attention and admiration; and where the devoted individuals are attached to the cause of the locally accepted religion, admiration is tinged with superstitious awe. People give expression to their feelings of admiration and awe by making gifts of property and money. Most religious communities have begun poor and have ended with large endowments. Great wealth is incompatible with non-attachment and this is true, not only of individuals, but also (though the process of corruption is less rapid) of communities. Nothing fails like success. Successful religious orders have always tended to sink into complacency, bogged in the morass of their endowments. Luckily, however, there have always been adventurous spirits ready and able to start afresh with great enthusiasm and little money. In due course, they too achieve success, and the movement for reform has to start all over again.

All effective communities are founded upon the principle of unlimited liability. In small groups composed of members personally acquainted with one another, unlimited liability provides a liberal education in responsibility, loyalty and consideration. It was upon the principle of unlimited liability that Raiffeisen based his system of co-operative agricultural banking, a system which worked successfully even among a population so illiterate, so desperately poverty-stricken as that of the barren Westerswald district of Prussia in the later forties of last century.

Summed up in a couple of sentences, the economic conditions of effective community living would seem to be as follows. Groups must accept the principle of unlimited liability. Individual members should possess nothing and everything—nothing as individuals, everything as joint owners of communally held property and communally produced income. Property and income

ENDS AND MEANS

should not be so large as to become ends in themselves, nor so small that the entire energies of the community have to be directed to procuring to-morrow's dinner.

We come next to the problem of discipline. History shows that it is possible for associations of devoted individuals to survive under disciplinary systems as radically different from one another as those, respectively, of the Society of Jesus and of the Society of Friends. Loyola was a soldier, and the order he founded was organized on military principles. His famous letter on obedience is written in the spirit of what may be called the Higher Militarism. The General of the order is clothed not merely with the powers of a commander-in-chief in time of war; he is also to be regarded by his inferiors as one who stands in the place of God, and must be obeyed as such without reference to his personal qualities as a human being. 'Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die.' This doctrine so dear to the ordinary mundane militarist, is reaffirmed by Loyola in the theological language of the Higher Militarism. 'The sacrifice of the Intellect' is the third and highest grade of obedience, particularly pleasing to God. The inferior must not only submit his will to that of the superior; he must also submit his intellect and judgment, must think the superior's thoughts and not his own.

Between the Higher Militarism of Loyola and the complete democracy of a Quaker committee, in which resolutions are not even put to the vote but discussed until at last there emerges a general 'sense of the meeting,' lies the constitutional monarchy of Benedictine monasticism. Gregory the Great characterized the Benedictine rule as 'conspicuous for its discretion.' He was right. Discretion is the outstanding characteristic of almost every one of St. Benedict's seventy chapters. The monk's time is discreetly divided between practical work and devotion,

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

he is discreetly clothed and discreetly fed — not too well, but also not too ill. Life in the monastery is ascetic, but discreetly so. Discretion is no less conspicuous in the chapters dealing with the functions of the abbot. The abbot is king of the monastery and in the last resort his authority is absolute. But before giving an order it is his duty, if the question at issue is an important one, to consult the whole community and hear what even its humblest member has to say. In matters of less moment, he is to confer with a cabinet of the older monks. Furthermore, his authority is not personal. He reigns; but his reign is a reign of law. His monks are subject to the Rule and to him only in so far as he represents and applies the Rule.

Communities governed on Jesuit principles, communities governed on Benedictine principles, communities governed on Quaker principles—all three types, as history has demonstrated, are capable of surviving. Our choice between the various types will be determined partly by the nature of the tasks to be performed, but mainly by the nature of our conception of what human individuals and societies ought to be. Certain tasks demand a technical and therefore highly centralized direction. But even in these cases technical centralization is generally compatible, as we have seen, with self-government in execution. Loyola's choice of the Higher Militarism was dictated partly by his own experience as a soldier and partly by the fact that, during his day, the Church was at war, both spiritually and physically, with Protestantism. To fight this war, an army was needed. Loyola set out to recruit and train that army. In modern times the conception of sect-war has given place to that of class-war. Hence the essentially military organization of the Fascist and Communist parties, bodies in certain respects curiously similar to the Ignatian order. Neither Fascists nor Communists

ENDS AND MEANS

accept as valid the old ideal of the non-attached individual. In the light of their philosophies of life, they are doubtless quite right in organizing themselves as they do. But Loyola accepted the ideal of non-attachment. In the light of his philosophy, he was unquestionably wrong in his adoption of the Higher Militarism. Non-attachment is valueless unless it is the non-attachment of a fully responsible individual. A corpse is not malignant or ambitious or lustful; but it is not for that reason a practiser of non-attachment. The Jesuit postulant is bidden in so many words to model his behaviour on that of a corpse. He is to allow himself to be moved and directed by his superior as though he were a cadaver or a walking-stick. Such passive obedience is incompatible with genuine non-attachment. If we believe in the value of non-attachment, we must avoid the Higher Militarism and devise some system of organization that shall be, not only efficient, but in the widest sense of the word educative. The constitutional monarchy of Benedictinism is more educative than Loyola's totalitarianism. Where the members of the community have already achieved a certain measure of responsibility, Quaker democracy is probably better than Benedictinism.

At all times and in all places communities have been formed for the purpose of making it possible for their members to live more nearly in accord with the currently accepted religious ideals than could be done 'in the world.' Such communities have always devoted a considerable proportion of their time and energy to study, to the performance of ceremonial acts of devotion and, in some cases at any rate, to the practice of 'spiritual exercises.' The nature and purpose of 'spiritual exercises' will be discussed at length in the chapter on 'Religious Practices.' All that need be said here is that the best spiritual exercises provide a method by which the will may be strengthened

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

and directed, and the consciousness heightened and enlarged. The Benedictine Rule prescribed no systematic course of spiritual exercises. Loyola's exercises were extremely effective in strengthening and directing the will, but tended to prevent the consciousness from rising to the highest level of mystical contemplation. The Quakers had stumbled upon a method which, when properly used, not only strengthened the will, but also heightened consciousness. Unfortunately, it often happened that the method was not used properly. Individual Christian mystics, like St. John of the Cross and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, have fully understood the psychological nature and the spiritual and educational value of the right kind of spiritual exercises. A similar understanding is to be found in the East, where Hindu and Buddhist communities make systematic use of spiritual exercises as a means to spiritual insight into ultimate reality and for the purpose of purifying, directing and strengthening the will.

Many communities have been content to seek salvation only for their own members and have considered that they did enough for the 'world' by praying for it and providing it with the example of piety and purposeful living. Most Hindu and many Buddhist communities belong to this type. In some countries, however, Buddhist monks conceive it their duty to teach, and schools, both for children and adults, are attached to the monasteries. In the West the majority of Christian communities have always regarded the performance of some kind of practical work as an indispensable part of their functions. Under the Benedictine Rule, monks were expected to spend about three hours at their devotions and about seven at work. Cluny gave more time to devotion and less to work. But the Cistercian reform was a return to the letter of the Benedictine Rule. Much has been written on the civilizing influence of the

ENDS AND MEANS

monasteries in their practical, non-religious capacity. The early Benedictines revived agricultural life after the collapse of the Roman Empire—re-colonized the land that had been deserted, re-introduced industrial techniques in places where they had been almost lost. Seven hundred years later, the Cistercians were responsible for another great agricultural revival. Under their influence, swamps were drained and brought under the plough; the breeds of horses and cattle were greatly improved. In England they devoted themselves especially to sheep and were responsible for that great trade in wool which was one of the main sources of English prosperity during the Middle Ages. For many centuries education and the dissemination of knowledge through written books was mainly in the hands of the Benedictines. Poor relief and medical aid were also supplied by the monasteries, and in most countries, almost up to the present day, there were no nurses except those who had been trained in a community of nuns. During the last two centuries most of the non-religious work performed by the religious communities has come to be done either by the state or by secular organizations in the way of ordinary business. Up till that time, however, neither the central authority nor the private business man was willing or able to undertake these jobs. We may risk a generalization and say that at any given moment of history it is the function of associations of devoted individuals to undertake tasks which clear-sighted people perceive to be necessary, but which nobody else is willing to perform.

In the light of this brief account of the salient characteristics of past communities we can see what future communities ought to be and do. We see that they should be composed of carefully selected individuals, united in a common belief and by fidelity to a shared ideal. We see that property and income should be held

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

in common and that every member should assume unlimited liability for all other members. We see that disciplinary arrangements may be of various kinds, but that the most educative form of organization is the democratic. We see that it is advisable for communities to undertake practical work in addition to study, devotion and spiritual exercises, and that this practical work should be of a kind which other social agencies, public or private, are either unable or unwilling to perform.

Religious and philosophical beliefs and the methods by which the will can be trained and the mind enlightened will be dealt with in later chapters. Here I am concerned with the question of practical, mundane work.

✓All of us desire a better state of society. But society cannot become better before two great tasks are performed. Unless peace can be firmly established and the prevailing obsession with money and power profoundly modified, there is no hope of any desirable change being made. Governments are not willing to undertake these tasks; indeed, in many countries they actively persecute those who even express the opinion that such tasks are worth performing. Private individuals are not prepared to undertake them in the ordinary way of business. If the work is to be done at all—and it is clear that, unless it is done, the state of the world is likely to become progressively worse—it must be done by associations of devoted individuals. To tend the sick, to relieve the poor, to teach without charge—these are all intrinsically excellent tasks. But for associations of devoted individuals to perform such tasks is now a work of supererogation and, in a certain sense, an anachronism. It was right that they should undertake them when nobody else was prepared to do so. If they undertake them now, when such tasks are being performed, very efficiently, by other agencies, they are wasting the energy of their devotion. They should use

ENDS AND MEANS

this energy to do what nobody else will do, to break the new ground that nobody else will break.

The function of the well-intentioned individual, acting in isolation, is to formulate or disseminate theoretical truths. The function of well-intentioned individuals in association is to live in accordance with those truths, to demonstrate what happens when theory is translated into practice, to create small-scale working models of the better form of society to which the speculative idealist looks forward. Let us consider the sort of things that would have to be done by associations of individuals devoted to the tasks of establishing peace and a new form of economic and social organization, in which the present obsession with money and power should not be given the opportunity of coming into existence. The two tasks are, of course, closely related. Both capitalism and nationalism are fruits of the obsession with power, success, position. Economic competition and social domination are fundamentally militaristic. Within a society the various classes have their private imperialisms, just as the society as a whole has its own, essentially similar, public imperialism. And so on. Any association which tried to create a working model of a society unobsessed by the lust for power and success would at the same time be creating a working model of a society living in peace and having no reasons for going to war. For the sake of convenience, I shall deal separately with the pacifistic and economic activities of our hypothetical association. In reality, however, the two classes of activity are closely related and complementary.

‘All men desire peace, but very few desire those things that make for peace.’ The thing that makes for peace above all others is the systematic practice in all human relationships of non-violence. For full and recent discussions of the subject the reader is referred to Richard

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

Gregg's book, *The Power of Non-Violence*, and to works by Barthélemy de Ligt, notably *Pour Vaincre sans Violence* and *La Paix Créatrice*. In the paragraphs that follow I have tried to give a brief, but tolerably complete summary of the argument in favour of non-violence.

The inefficiency of violence has been discussed in an earlier chapter; but the subject is such an important one that I make no apology for repeating the substance of what was said in that place.

If violence is answered by violence, the result is a physical struggle. Now, a physical struggle inevitably arouses in the minds of those directly and even indirectly concerned in it emotions of hatred, fear, rage and resentment. In the heat of conflict all scruples are thrown to the winds, all the habits of forbearance and humaneness, slowly and laboriously formed during generations of civilized living, are forgotten. Nothing matters any more except victory. And when at last victory comes to one or other of the parties, this final outcome of physical struggle bears no necessary relation to the rights and wrongs of the case; nor, in most cases, does it provide any lasting settlement to the dispute.

The cases in which victory in war provides a more or less lasting settlement may be classified as follows: (1) Victory results in a final settlement when the vanquished are completely or very nearly exterminated. This happened to the Red Men in North America and to the Protestant heretics in sixteenth-century Spain. That 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church' is true only when a good many people survive martyrdom. If the number of martyrs is equal to the total number of the faithful (as it was in the case of the Japanese Christians during the seventeenth century), then no church will spring from their blood and the dispute between orthodox and heretic will have been settled once and for all. Modern wars are

ENDS AND MEANS

generally waged between densely populated countries. In such cases extermination is unlikely. One war tends therefore to beget another. (2) Where the fighting forces are so small that the mass of the rival populations is left physically unharmed and psychologically unembittered by the conflict, the victory of one or other army may result in a permanent settlement. To-day entire populations are liable to be involved in their country's battles. The relatively harmless wars waged according to an elaborate code of rules by small professional armies are things of the past. (3) Victory may lead to a permanent peace, where the victors settle down among the vanquished as a ruling minority and are, in due course, absorbed by them. This does not apply to contemporary wars.

(4) Finally, victory may be followed by an act of reparation on the part of the victors. Reparation will disarm the resentment of the vanquished and lead to a permanent settlement. This was the policy pursued by the English after the Boer War. Such a policy is essentially an application of the principles of non-violence. The longer and more savage the conflict, the more difficult is it to make an act of reparation after victory. It was relatively easy for Campbell-Bannerman to be just after the Boer War; for the makers of the Versailles Treaty, magnanimity was psychologically all but impossible. In view of this obvious fact, common sense demands that the principles of non-violence should be applied, not after a war, when their application is supremely difficult, but before physical conflict has broken out and as a substitute for such a conflict. Non-violence is the practical consequence that follows from belief in the fundamental unity of all being. But, quite apart from the validity of its philosophical basis (which I shall discuss in a later chapter), non-violence can prove its value pragmatically—by working. That it can work in private life we have all had occasion to observe

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

and experience. We have all seen how anger feeds upon answering anger, but is disarmed by gentleness and patience. We have all known what it is to have our meannesses shamed by somebody else's magnanimity into an equal magnanimity; what it is to have our dislikes melted away by an act of considerateness; what it is to have our coldnesses and harshnesses transformed into solicitude by the example of another's unselfishness. The use of violence is accompanied by anger, hatred and fear, or by exultant malice and conscious cruelty. Those who would use non-violence must practise self-control, must learn moral as well as physical courage, must pit against anger and malice a steady good will and a patient determination to understand and to sympathize. Violence makes men worse; non-violence makes them better. In the casual relations of social life the principles of non-violence are systematized, crudely, no doubt, and imperfectly, by the code of good manners. The precepts of religion and morality represent the systematization of the same principles in regard to personal relations more complex and more passionate than those of the drawing-room and the street.

Men of exceptional moral force and even ordinary people, when strengthened by intense conviction, have demonstrated over and over again in the course of history the power of non-violence to overcome evil, to turn aside anger and hatred. The hagiographies of every religion are full of accounts of such exploits, and similar stories can be found in the records of modern missionaries and colonial administrators, of passive resisters and conscientious objectors. Such sporadic manifestations of non-violence might be put down as exceptional and of no historical importance. To those who raise such an objection we would point out that, in the course of the last century and a half, the principles of non-violence have been applied, ever more systematically and with a growing realization

ENDS AND MEANS

of their practical value, to the solution of social and medical problems regarded before that time as completely insoluble. It was only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that it began to be realized that such problems—the problem of the insane, the problem of the criminal, the problem of the ‘savage’—were insoluble only because violence had made them so. Thus, the cruel treatment of the insane resulted in their disease being aggravated and becoming incurable. It was not until 1792 that Pinel struck the chains from the unhappy inmates of the Salpêtrière. In 1815 a committee of the House of Commons investigated the state of Bethlehem Hospital and found it appalling. Bedlam was a place of filth and squalor, with dungeons, chains and torture chambers. As late as 1840 the great majority of asylums in Western Europe were still prisons and their inmates were still being treated as though they were criminals. Towards the middle of the century a considerable effort at reform was made and, since then, doctors have come to rely in their treatment more and more upon kindness and intelligent sympathy, less and less upon harshness and constraint. For a full and very vivid account of life in a well-run modern hospital for the insane, W. B. Seabrook’s *Asylum* may be recommended. Compare this testimony with the description of life in the Salpêtrière before Pinel’s day or in unreformed Bedlam. The difference is the difference between organized violence and organized non-violence.

The story of prison reform is essentially similar to that of the reform of asylums. When John Howard began his investigations in the middle of the seventies of the eighteenth century the only decent prisons in Europe were those of Amsterdam. (Significantly enough, there was much less crime in Holland than in other countries.) Prisons were houses of torture in which the innocent were demoralized and the criminal became more criminal.

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

In spite of Howard, no serious attempts were made even in England to reform the monstrous system until well into the nineteenth century. Thanks to the labours of Elizabeth Fry and the Prison Discipline Society (yet another example of the good work that can be done by associations of devoted individuals), the English Parliament was at last induced to pass two Acts in 1823 and 1824, Acts which enunciated the principle of a new and better system. It is unnecessary to describe the further course of reform. Suffice it to say that in all democratic countries, at least, the movement has been in the direction of greater humaneness. There has been general agreement among all those best qualified to speak that if criminals are to be reformed or even prevented from becoming worse, organized violence must give place to organized and intelligent non-violence. This humanitarian movement has always been opposed by those who say that 'criminals should not be pampered.' The motives of such opposition always turn out upon investigation to be thoroughly discreditable. People need scapegoats on whom to load their own offences and in comparison to whom they may seem to themselves entirely virtuous; furthermore, they derive a certain pleasure from the thought of the suffering of others. Still, in spite of much concealed sadism and much openly displayed self-righteousness, the humanitarian movement has gone steadily forward. Only in the dictatorial countries has it received a check. Here, the idea of reformation has been abandoned and the old notion of retaliatory punishment has been revived. This is a significant symptom of that regression from charity which is characteristic of so much contemporary activity.

Like the alienist and the gaoler, the colonial administrator and the anthropologist have discovered that organized and intelligent non-violence is the best, the most practical policy. For some time the Dutch and the English, like the Romans before them, have known

ENDS AND MEANS

that it was wise, wherever possible, to 'leave the natives alone.' During the last thirty years professional anthropologists have left the libraries in which their older colleagues fitted together their mosaics of travellers' tales and missionary gossip, and have actually taken to living with the objects of their study. In order to be able to do this with safety, they have found it essential to apply the principles of non-violence with a truly Tolstoyan thoroughness. In consequence, they have won the friendship of their 'savages' and have learned incomparably more about their ways of thinking and feeling than had ever been discovered before. During recent years, the administration of the Belgian, Dutch, English and French colonies has become on the whole more humane and, at the same time, more efficient. This double improvement is mainly due to the anthropologists, with their doctrine of intelligent and sympathetic non-violence. The hideous methods employed in the conquest of Abyssinia are unhappily symptomatic of the new, worse spirit that is now abroad.

So much for the power of non-violence in the relations of individuals with individuals. We have now to consider mass movements in which the principles of non-violence are applied to the relations between large groups or entire populations and their governments. Before citing examples of these it will be as well to reconsider briefly a matter already touched upon in an earlier chapter, namely, the results which follow attempts to carry through intrinsically desirable social changes by violent methods. History seems to demonstrate very clearly that, when revolution is accompanied by more than a very little violence, it achieves, not the desirable results anticipated by its makers, but some or all of the thoroughly undesirable results that flow from the use of violence. During the French Revolution, for example, the transfer of power to the Third Estate was accomplished by the regularly elected

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

National Assembly. The Terror was the fruit of sordid quarrels for power among the revolutionaries themselves and its results were the extinction of the republic and the rise, first, of the Directory, then of Napoleon's military dictatorship. Under Napoleon a revolutionary fervour that found its natural expression in acts of violence was easily transformed into military fervour. French imperialism resulted in the intensification of nationalistic feelings throughout Europe, in the almost universal imposition of military slavery, or conscription, and in the systematization of economic rivalry between national groups. It would be interesting to construct a historical 'Uchronia' (to use Renouvier's useful word), based upon the postulate that Robespierre and the other Jacobin leaders were convinced pacifists. The 'non-Euclidean' history deducible from this first principle would be a history, I suspect, innocent of Napoleon, of Bismarck, of British imperialism and the scramble for Africa, of the World War, of militant Communism and Fascism, of Hitler and universal rearmament. What follows is a Uchronian account of very recent history as it might have been if the Spanish Republic had been pacifist. 'Even though we know well that pacifism was as impossible to the working-class psychology of 1931 Spain as to that of the United States in 1917, it is important to point out that, if the Spanish Republic had actually been pacifist in theory and practice, the present counter-revolution could never have arisen. A pacifist republic would, of course, have immediately liberated the conquered Moors and transformed them into friends; it would have dismissed the old regime generals and returned their armies to civil life. It would have done away with the fears of Church and peasants by requiring from Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists the renunciation of violence during the period of the Popular Front.' (From *What about Spain?* by

ENDS AND MEANS

Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D., War Resisters League, New York.)

Returning from Uchronic speculations to a consideration of actuality, we find that in Russia the original aim of the revolutionaries was the creation of a society enjoying the maximum possible amount of self-government in every field of activity. Unfortunately, the rulers of the country have persisted in making use of the violent methods inherited from the old Tsarist regime. With what results? Russia is now a highly centralized military and economic dictatorship. Its government is oligarchical and makes use of secret police methods, conscription, press censorship, and intensive propaganda or *bourrage de crâne*, for the purpose of keeping the people in unquestioning subjection.

By way of contrast, let us now consider a few examples of non-violent revolution. Of these, the movements best known to English-speaking readers are those organized by Gandhi in South Africa and later in India. The South African movement may be described as completely successful. The discriminatory legislation against the Hindus was repealed in 1914, entirely as the result of non-violent resistance and non-co-operation on the part of the Indian population. In India several important successes were recorded, and it was shown that very large groups of men and women could be trained to respond to the most brutal treatment with a quiet courage and equanimity that profoundly impressed their persecutors, the spectators in the immediate vicinity and, through the press, the public opinion of the entire world. The task of effectively training very large numbers in a very short time proved, however, too great and, rather than see his movement degenerate into civil war (in which the British, being better armed, would inevitably have won a complete victory), Gandhi suspended the activities of his non-violent army.

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

Among other non-violent movements crowned by partial or complete success we may mention the following. From 1901 to 1905 the Finns conducted a campaign of non-violent resistance to Russian oppression; this was completely successful and in 1905 the law imposing conscription on the Finns was repealed. The long campaign of non-violent resistance and non-co-operation conducted by the Hungarians under Deák was crowned with complete success in 1867. (It is significant that the name of Kossuth, the leader of the violent Hungarian revolution of 1848 was, and still is, far better known than that of Deák. Kossuth was an ambitious, power-loving militarist, who completely failed to liberate his country. Deák refused political power and personal distinction, was unshakably a pacifist, and without shedding blood compelled the Austrian government to restore the Hungarian constitution. Such is our partiality for ambition and militarism that we all remember Kossuth, in spite of the complete failure of his policy, while few of us have ever heard of Deák, in spite of the fact that he was completely successful.) In Germany two campaigns of non-violent resistance were successfully carried out against Bismarck—the Kulturkampf by the Catholics, and the working-class campaign, after 1871, for the recognition of the Social-Democratic Party. More recently non-violent resistance and non-co-operation were successfully used in modern Egypt against British domination.

A special form of non-co-operation is the boycott, which has been used effectively on a number of occasions. For example, it was employed by the Persians to break the hated tobacco monopoly. The Chinese employed it against British goods, after the shooting of students by British troops. It was also used in India by the followers of Gandhi. A striking example of the way in which even a threat of non-violent non-co-operation can avert war was provided by the British Labour Movement in 1920.

ENDS AND MEANS

The Council of Action formed on August 9th of that year warned the government that if it persisted in its scheme of sending British troops to Poland for an attack upon the Russians, a general strike would be called, labour would refuse to transport munitions or men, and a complete boycott of the war would be declared. Faced by this ultimatum, the Lloyd George government abandoned its plans for levying war on Russia. (This episode proves two things: first, that if enough people so desire and have sufficient determination, they can prevent the government of their country from going to war; second, that this condition is fulfilled only in rare and exceptional circumstances. In most cases the great majority of a country's inhabitants do not, when the moment comes, desire to prevent their government from going to war. They are swept off their feet by the flood of nationalistic sentiment which is always released in a moment of crisis and which a skilful government knows how to augment and direct by means of its instruments of propaganda. Once more we see that the machinery for stopping war is present, but that the will to use that machinery is generally lacking. To create and reinforce that will, first in themselves and then in others, is the task of devoted individuals associated for the purpose of establishing peace.)

I have given examples of the use of non-violence in the relations of individuals with individuals and of whole populations with governments. It is now time to consider the use of non-violence in the relations of governments with other governments. Examples of non-violence on the governmental level are seldom of a very heroic kind and the motives actuating the parties concerned are seldom unmixed. The tradition of politics is a thoroughly dishonourable tradition. The world sanctions two systems of morality—one for private individuals, another for national and other groups. Men who, in private life, are

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

consistently honest, humane and considerate, believe that when they are acting as the representatives of a group they are justified in doing things which, as individuals, they know to be utterly disgraceful. The nation, as we have seen, is personified in our imaginations as a being superhuman in power and glory, sub-human in morality. We never even expect it to behave in any but the most discreditable way. This being so, we must not be surprised if examples of genuine non-violent behaviour between governments are rare, except in the case of disputes involving matters so unimportant that the sub-human disputants don't feel it worth their while to fight. These can generally be settled easily enough by means of the existing machinery of conciliation. But wherever more important issues are at stake, national egotism is allowed free rein and the machinery of conciliation is either not used at all or used only reluctantly and with manifest bad will. In recent European history it is possible to find only one example of the completely non-violent settlement of a major dispute between two governments. In 1814 the Treaty of Kiel provided that Norway should be handed over to the kingdom of Sweden. Bernadotte invaded the country; but after a fortnight, during which no serious conflict took place, opened negotiations. The union of the two countries was agreed upon, being achieved, in the words of the preamble to the Act of Union, 'not by force or arms, but by free conviction.' Ninety years later the union was dissolved. By an overwhelming majority, the Norwegians decided to become independent. The Swedes accepted that decision. No violence was used on either side. The relations between the two countries have remained cordial ever since.

This has been a long digression, but a necessary one. Non-violence is so often regarded as impractical, or at best a method which only exceptional men and women

ENDS AND MEANS

can use, that it is essential to show, first, that even when used sporadically and unsystematically (as has been the case up till now), the method actually works; and second, that it can be used by quite ordinary people and even, on occasion, by those morally sub-human beings, kings, politicians, diplomats and the other representatives of national groups, considered in their professional capacity. (Out of business hours these morally sub-human beings may live up to the most exacting ethical standards.)

Modern associations of devoted individuals will have as one of their principal functions the systematic cultivation of non-violent behaviour in all the common relationships of life—in personal relationships, in economic relationships, in relationships of groups with other groups and of groups with governments. The means by which communities can secure non-violent behaviour as between their members are essentially those which must be applied by all reformers. The social structure of the community can be arranged in such a way that individuals shall not be tempted to seek power, to bully, to become rapacious; and at the same time a direct attack can be made upon the sources of the individual will—in other words, the individual can be taught, and taught to teach himself, how to repress his tendencies towards rapacity, bullying, power-seeking and the like. Further training will be needed in the repression not only of fear—a consummation successfully achieved by military training—but also in the repression of anger and hatred. The member of our hypothetical association must be able to meet violence without answering violence and without fear or complaint—and he must be able to meet it in this way, not only in moments of enthusiasm, but also when the blood is cold, when there is no emotional support from friends and sympathizers. Non-violent resistance to violent oppression is relatively easy in times of great emotional excitement; but it is very

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

difficult at other times. It is so difficult as to be practically impossible except for those who have undergone systematic training for that very purpose. It takes three to four years of training to make a good soldier. It probably takes at least as long to make a good non-violent resister, capable of putting his principles into practice in any circumstances, however horrible. The question of group training has been fully discussed by Richard Gregg in his *Power of Non-Violence*, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to repeat the discussion in this place. The psychological techniques for affecting the sources of the individual will—techniques developed by the devotees of every religion—are dealt with in a later chapter.

Trained individuals would perform two main functions. First, it would be their business to keep the life of the association at a higher level than the life of the surrounding society, and in this way to hold up to that society a working model of a superior type of social organization. Second, they would have to 'go out into the world,' where their trained capacities would be useful in allaying violence once it had broken out and in organizing non-violent resistance to domestic oppression and the preparation for and waging of international war.

Groups of individuals pledged to take no part in any future war already exist (*e.g.* The War Resisters' International, The Peace Pledge Union); but their organization is too loose and their membership too large and too widely scattered for them to be considered as associations, in the sense in which I have been using the word above. None the less they can and do render very important services to the cause for which all the reformers have always fought. They are propagandists, first of all. In private conversations, in speeches at public meetings, in pamphlets and newspaper articles, their members preach the gospel of non-violence, thus continuing and extending into non-

ENDS AND MEANS

sectarian fields the admirable work performed by the Society of Friends and other purely religious organizations. The result is that in England, in Holland, in the Scandinavian countries, in America and to some extent in Belgium and France, the public at large is beginning to become aware, if only dimly and still theoretically, that there exists a morally better and more effective alternative to revolution, to war, to violence and brutality of every kind.

Groups of war resisters, when sufficiently large and, in the moment of crisis, sufficiently unanimous, can prevent their government from going to war. This was clearly shown in 1920, when the Council of Action compelled Lloyd George to call off his threatened attack on the Soviets. It is unfortunately quite clear that the official leaders of the various left-wing parties of the world are not likely, in the immediate future, to call for similar passive resistance to any war which can be represented as 'a war of defence,' 'a war to save democracy,' 'a war against Fascism,' even a 'war to end war.' This means that, in the case of practically any war that is likely to break out in the near future, organized labour cannot be counted upon to work for peace. Without the aid of organized labour, war resisters have but the smallest chance of actually preventing their governments from waging a war. Nevertheless they can certainly do something to make the process morally and perhaps even physically more difficult than it would otherwise be. Peace can be secured and maintained only by the simultaneous adoption in many different fields of long-term policies, carefully designed with this end in view. Meanwhile, however, there is one short-term policy which every individual can adopt—the policy of war resistance.

People of 'advanced views' often question this conclusion. The causes of war, they argue, are predominantly

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

economic; these causes cannot be removed except by a change in the existing economic system; therefore a policy of war resistance by individuals is futile.

Those who use such arguments belong to two main classes: currency reformers and socialists.

Currency reformers, such as Major Douglas and his followers, point to the defects in our monetary system and affirm that, if these defects were remedied, prosperity could be spread over the whole world and every possible cause of war eliminated. This is surely over-optimistic. Defects in the monetary system may intensify economic conflicts in general. But by no means all economic conflicts are conflicts between nations. Many of the bitterest economic conflicts are between rival groups within the same nation; but, because these rival groups feel a sentiment of national solidarity, their conflicts do not result in war. It is only when monetary systems are organized in the interest of particular nations or groups of nations that they become a potential cause of war. So long as nationalism exists, scientifically managed currencies may actually make for war rather than peace. 'Once the controllers of national monetary systems begin to apply their power self-consciously, for the betterment of their people, we have monetary conflicts arising on strictly national lines, such as we see to-day in competitive depreciation and exchange control.' (Kenneth Boulding in *Economic Causes of War*.) The greater the conscious scientific control exercised by national authorities, the greater the international friction, at least until such time as all nations agree to adopt the same methods of control. (See the relevant passages in the chapter on 'Planned Society'.)

The present economic system is unjust and inefficient, and it is urgently desirable, as the socialists insist, that it should be changed. But such change would not lead immediately and automatically to universal peace. 'In so

ENDS AND MEANS

far as the socialization of a single nation creates truly national monopolies in the exports of that nation, so the power of the government increases and the national character of economic conflicts becomes intensified. Thus the socialization of a single nation, even though the rulers of that nation be most peaceably minded, is likely to intensify the fears of other nations in proportion as the control of the socialist government over its country's economic life is increased. . . . Unless they are supported by a strong conscious peace sentiment, they (the socialist regimes of individual nations) may be turned to purposes of war just as effectively—and indeed probably more effectively—than capitalist societies.' (*Op. cit.*)

It will thus be seen that individual war resisters acting alone or in association have a very important part to play in the immediate future. That changes in the present economic and monetary systems must be made is evident; and it is also clear that, in the long run, these changes will make for the establishment of the conditions of permanent peace. But meanwhile, so long as nationalistic sentiment persists, reforms of the economic and monetary system may temporarily increase international ill-feeling and the probability of war. The function of associations of individual war resisters is to prevent, if possible, necessary and intrinsically desirable changes in the economic and monetary systems from resulting in international discord and war.

In some countries the missionaries of non-violence can still preach their gospel without interference. In most of the world, however, they can only labour, if at all, in secret. Men of good will have always had to combine the virtues of the serpent with those of the dove. This serpentine wisdom is more than ever necessary to-day, when the official resistance to men of good will is greater and better organized than at any previous period. Progress

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

in technology and in the science and art of organization has made it possible for governments to bring their police to a pitch of efficiency undreamed of by Napoleon, Metternich and the other great virtuosi of secret-police rule in previous ages. Before the Risorgimento the Austrians governed Italy by means of gendarmes, spies and *agents provocateurs*. Garibaldi fought to rid his country of these disgusting parasites. To-day, Mussolini has a secret police far superior to anything that the Austrians could boast of. It is the same in contemporary Russia. Stalin's police is like the Tsar's—like the Tsar's but, thanks to telephones, wireless, fast cars and the latest filing systems, a good deal smarter. The same is true of every other country. All over the world the police are able to act with a rapidity, a precision and a foresight never matched in the past.¹ Moreover, they are equipped with scientific weapons, such as the ordinary person cannot procure. Against forces thus armed and organized, violence and cunning are unavailing. The only methods by which a people can protect itself against the tyranny of rulers possessing a modern police force are the non-violent methods of massive non-co-operation and civil disobedience. Such methods are the only ones which give the people a chance of taking advantage of its numerical superiority to the ruling caste and to discount its manifest inferiority in armaments. For this reason it is enormously important that the principles of non-violence should be propagated rapidly and over the widest possible area. For it is only by means of well and widely organized movements of

¹ Like all other instruments, the modern police force can be used either well or ill. Police trained in non-violence could use modern methods to forestall any outbreak of violence, to prevent potential hostilities from developing, to foster co-operation. A non-violent police force could be made a complete substitute for an army.

ENDS AND MEANS

non-violence that the populations of the world can hope to avoid that enslavement to the state which in so many countries is already an accomplished fact and which the threat of war and the advance of technology are in process of accomplishing elsewhere. In the circumstances of our age, most movements of revolutionary violence are likely to be suppressed instantaneously; in cases where the revolutionaries are well equipped with modern arms, the movement will probably turn into a long and stubbornly disputed civil war, as was the case in Spain. The chances that any change for the better will result from such a civil war are exceedingly small. Violence will merely produce the ordinary results of violence and the last state of the country will be worse than the first. This being so, non-violence presents the only hope of salvation. But, in order to resist the assaults of a numerous and efficient police, or, in the case of foreign invasion, of soldiers, non-violent movements will have to be well organized and widely spread. The regression from humanitarianism, characteristic of our age, will probably result in manifestations of non-violent resistance being treated with a severity more ruthless than that displayed by most governments in recent times. Such severities can only be answered by great numbers and great devotion. Confronted by huge masses determined not to co-operate and equally determined not to use violence, even the most ruthless dictatorship is nonplussed. Moreover, even the most ruthless dictatorship needs the support of public opinion, and no government which massacres or imprisons large numbers of systematically non-violent individuals can hope to retain such support. Once dictatorial rule has been established, the task of organizing non-violent resistance to tyranny or war becomes exceedingly difficult. The hope of the world lies in those countries where it is still possible for individuals to associate freely, express their opinions with-

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

out constraint and, in general, have their being at least in partial independence of the state.

A more efficient police force is not the only obstacle which technological progress has put in the way of desirable change. I have said that even the most ruthless dictatorship needs the support of public opinion; unhappily, modern technology has put into the hands of the ruling minorities new instruments for influencing public opinion incomparably more efficient than anything possessed by the tyrants of the past. The press and the radio are already with us, and within a few years television will doubtless be perfected. Seeing is believing to an even greater extent than hearing; and a government which is able to fill every home with subtly propagandist pictures as well as speech and print, will probably be able, within wide limits, to manufacture whatever kind of public opinion it needs. Missionaries for our hypothetical associations are likely to find in this synthetic public opinion an enemy even more difficult to overcome or circumvent than the secret police. Part of their work will have to be a work of education—the building up in individual minds of intellectual and emotional resistance to suggestion. (See the relevant passages in the chapter on ‘Education.’)

So much for the first task of our associations—the establishment of peace through the doing and teaching of those things which make for peace. Their other task is to cure themselves and the world of the prevailing obsession with money and power. Once more, direct approach to the sources of the individual will must be combined with the ‘preventive ethics’ of a social arrangement that protects from the temptations of avarice and ambition. What should be the nature of this social arrangement? It will be best to begin with a consideration of what it should not be. Most of those who in recent years have actually founded associations of devoted individuals have not even

ENDS AND MEANS

attempted to solve the economic problems of our time: they have simply run away from them. Appalled by the complexities of life in an age of technological advance, they have tried to go backwards. Their communities have been little *Red Indian Reservations* of economic primitives, fenced away from the vulgar world of affairs. But the problem of modern industry and finance cannot possibly be solved by setting up irrelevant little associations of handicraftsmen and amateur peasants, incapable in most cases of earning their livelihood and dependent for their bread and butter upon income derived from the hated world of machines. We cannot get rid of machinery, for the simple reason that, in the process of getting rid of it, we should be forced to get rid of that moiety of the human race whose existence on this planet is made possible only by the existence of machines. The machine age in Erewhon had evidently led to no startling increase of population; hence the relative ease with which the Erewhonians were able to return to the horse and handicraft civilization. In the real world, machinery has resulted in the trebling of the population of the industrial countries within a century and a half. A return to horses and handicrafts means a return, through starvation, revolution, massacre and disease, to the old level of population. Obviously, then, such a return is outside the sphere of practical politics. Those who preach such a return and, in their communities of devoted individuals, actually practise it, are merely shirking the real issues. Machine production cannot be abolished; it is here to stay. The question is whether it is to stay as an instrument of slavery or as a way to freedom. A similar question arises in regard to the wealth created by machine production. Is this wealth to be distributed in such a way as to secure the maximum of social injustice, or the minimum? Governments and private companies in the ordinary way of business are not specially concerned

INDIVIDUAL WORK FOR REFORM

to discover the proper solutions of these problems. The task, therefore, devolves upon associations of devoted individuals.

We see then, that if such associations are to be useful in the modern world, they must go into business—and go into business in the most scientific, the most unprimitive way possible.

Now, in order to engage in any advanced form of industrial or agricultural production, considerable quantities of capital are required. The fact is unfortunate; but in existing circumstances it cannot be otherwise. Good intentions and personal devotion are not enough to save the world; if they were, the world would have been saved long before this—for the supply of saints has never failed. But the good are sometimes stupid and very often ill-informed. Few saints have also been scientists or organizers. Conversely, few scientists and organizers have been saints. If the world is to be saved, scientific methods must be combined with good intentions and devotion. By themselves, neither goodness nor intelligence are equal to the task of changing society and individuals for the better.

Where modern industrial and agricultural production are concerned, scientific method cannot be applied *in vacuo*. It must be applied to machines, to workmen, to an office organization. But machines must be bought and supplied with their motive power, workmen and administrators must be paid. Hence the need of capital. In the circumstances of modern life, associations of devoted individuals cannot do much good unless they command the means to make a considerable investment.

Having made its investment and embarked upon production, the association will have to work out, by practical experiment, the most satisfactory solutions of such problems as the following:—

To find the best way of combining workers' self-

ENDS AND MEANS

government with technical efficiency—responsible freedom at the periphery with advanced scientific management at the centre.

To find the best way of varying the individual's labours so as to eliminate boredom and multiply educative contacts with other individuals, working in responsible self-governing groups.

To find the best way of disposing of the wealth created by machine production. (Some form of communal ownership of property and income seems, as we have seen, to be a necessary condition of successful living in an association of devoted individuals.)

To find the best way of investing superfluous wealth and to determine the proportion of such wealth that ought to be invested in capital goods.

To find the best way of using the gifts of individual workers and the best way of employing persons belonging to the various psychological types. (See the chapter on 'Inequality'.)

To find the best form of community life and the best way of using leisure.

To find the best form of education for children and of self-education for adults. (See the chapters on 'Education' and 'Religious Practices'.)

To find the best form of communal government and the best way to use gifts of leadership without subjecting the individuals so gifted to the temptation of ambition or arousing in their minds the lust for power. (See the chapter on 'Inequality'.)

Devoted and intelligent individuals living in association and working systematically along such lines as these should be able quite quickly to build up a working model of a more satisfactory type of society.

Chapter XI

INEQUALITY

THE world which a poor man inhabits is not the same as the world a rich man inhabits. If there is to be intelligent co-operation between all members of a society, there must be agreement as to the things upon which they are to work together. People who are forced by economic inequality to inhabit dissimilar universes will be unable to co-operate intelligently.

To obtain complete equality of income for all is probably impossible and perhaps even undesirable. But certain steps in the direction of equalization can and undoubtedly ought to be taken.

Even in capitalist countries the principle not only of the minimum but also of the maximum wage has already been admitted. Within the last thirty years it has generally been agreed that there are limits beyond which incomes and personal accumulations of capital ought not to go. In such countries as England, France and, more recently, the United States, fortunes are diminished at every death by anything from a tenth to three-quarters. Between deaths, the tax collector regularly takes away from the rich anything from a quarter to three-fifths of their incomes. Now that the principle of the limitation of wealth has been implicitly accepted, even by the wealthy, there should be no great difficulty in imposing an absolute maximum.

At what figure should the maximum wage be fixed? A judge of the London Bankruptcy Court, retiring after half a lifetime of service, made an interesting statement recently

ENDS AND MEANS

on the relation between income and happiness. He had observed, he said, that increase of income tended to result in increase of personal satisfaction up to a limit of about £5,000 a year. After that figure, satisfaction seemed generally to decline. (Non-attachment, we might add, becomes difficult or impossible for most people at a point considerably below this figure. 'It is harder for a rich man . . .') The possession of considerable wealth causes men to identify themselves with what is less than self—does so as effectively as the possession of means so small that the individual suffers hunger and continual anxiety. Extreme poverty can also be a needle's eye.)

The problem of the maximum wage can also be approached from another angle. The question may be posed in this way: in existing circumstances, how much does an individual require in order to live in the highest state of physical and intellectual efficiency, of which his organism is capable? It has been calculated that, if he is to be properly nourished, housed and educated, if he is to have adequate holidays, adequate medical attention and adequate educative travel, he will need an income of about £600 or £700 a year, or its equivalent in cash or communally provided services. Where several people are living together in a family group, this sum can doubtless be reduced without reducing each individual's opportunities for self-development. At the present time, the great majority of human beings receive only a fraction of this optimum income.

The degree of economic inequality is not the same in all countries. In England, for example, inequality is greater, even among employees of the state, than in France. The highest government servants in England are paid forty or fifty times as much as the lowest. In France, the head of the department receives only about twenty times as much as the typist. Strangely enough, the degree of economic

INEQUALITY

inequality would seem to be greater in Soviet Russia than in many capitalist countries. Max Eastman cites figures which show that, whereas the managing director of an American mining firm receives about forty times as much as one of his miners, the corresponding person in Russia may be earning up to eighty times the wage of the lowest-paid worker.

What is the degree of economic inequality that should be allowed to exist in any community? Clearly, there can be no universally valid answer, at any rate in existing circumstances. In a society where the minimum wage is very small, it may be necessary to fix the rate of inequality at a higher level than in one where the majority of people are earning something more nearly approaching the optimum income. This may seem unjust and (since poor and rich inhabit different worlds) inexpedient. And, in effect, it is unjust and inexpedient. But the inexpediency of reducing all incomes to a level far below the optimum is probably greater than the inexpediency of keeping a few incomes at or above the optimum level. No society can make progress unless at least some of its members are in receipt of an income sufficient to ensure their fullest development. This means that, where minimum wages are low, as they are in even the richest of contemporary communities, it may be necessary to allow the best-paid individuals to draw an income twenty or even thirty times as great as that of the worst-paid. If ever it becomes possible to distribute the optimum income to all, the inequality rate may be greatly reduced. There is no reason, in such a society, why the highest incomes should be more than two or three times as great as the lowest.

The economic is not the only kind of inequality. There is also the more formidable, the less remediable inequality which exists between individuals of different psychological types. 'The fool sees not the same tree that the wise man

ENDS AND MEANS

sees.' The universes of two individuals may be profoundly dissimilar, even though they may be in receipt of equal incomes. Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington. Nature as well as nurture has set great gulfs between us. Some of these gulfs are unbridged and seemingly unbridgeable; across them there is no communication. For example, I simply cannot imagine what it feels like to be a genius at chess, a great mathematician, a composer, who does his thinking in terms of melodies and progressions of harmonies. Some people are so clear-sighted that they can see the moons of Jupiter without a telescope; in some the sense of smell is so keen that, after a little training, they can enumerate all the constituent elements in a perfume composed of fifteen to twenty separate substances; some people can detect minute variations of pitch, to which the majority of ears are deaf.

Many attempts have been made to produce a scientific classification of human types in terms of their physical and psychological characteristics. For example, there was the Hippocratic classification of men according to the predominance of one or other of the four humours; this theory dominated European medicine for upwards of two thousand years. Meanwhile the astrologers and palmists were using fivefold classification in terms of planetary types. We still speak of sanguine or mercurial temperaments, describe people as jovial, phlegmatic, melancholic, saturnine. Aristotle wrote a treatise on physiognomy in which he attempted a classification of individuals in terms of the supposed characteristics of the animals they resembled. This pseudo-zoological classification of human beings kept cropping up in physiognomical literature until the time of Lavater.

In recent years we have had a number of new classifications. Stockard, in his *Physical Basis of Personality*, uses a twofold classification in terms of 'linear' and 'lateral'

INEQUALITY

types of human beings. Kretschmer uses a threefold classification. So does Dr. William Sheldon, whose classification in terms of somatotonic, viscerotonic and cerebrotonic I shall use in the present chapter. It seems probable that, with the latest work in this field, we may be approaching a genuinely scientific description of human types. Meanwhile, let us not forget that many of the old systems of classification, though employing strange terms and an erroneous explanatory hypothesis, were based firmly upon the facts of observation and personal experience.

It is worth remarking that there have been fashions in temperaments just as there have been fashions in clothes and medicine, theology and the female figure. For example, the men of the eighteenth century admired above all the phlegmatic temperament—the temperament of the man who is naturally cautious, thoughtful, not easily moved. Voltaire gave place to Rousseau; admiration for a certain sagacious coolness, to the cult of sentimentality for sentimentality's sake. Phlegm lost its old prestige and the sanguine temperament—hot passion and wet tears—rose to a position of fashionable pre-eminence, from which it was driven a generation later by the Byronic temperament, which is a mixture of sanguine and melancholy, a strange hybrid of inconsistencies, warm and moist allied with cold and dry. Meanwhile, at the Gothic height of the Romantic Movement, the Philosophic Radicals were doing their best to revive the prestige of phlegm; and a little later it was the choleric temperament, the temperament of the pushful, energetic man of business, that came into fashion. With muscular Christianity even religion becomes choleric and (in Sheldon's phrase) somatotonic.

In view of the fact that membership of one or other of the psycho-physiological species is hereditary and inalienable, the habit of exalting one temperament at the expense of all the rest is manifestly silly. All the temperaments

ENDS AND MEANS

exist and something can be made of each of them. People have a right to be phlegmatic, just as they have a right to be plump. In our intolerant ignorance we demand that all shall conform to a fashionable ideal and be, say, melancholy or thin. There are times (such is our folly) when we demand that they shall have psychological characteristics which are to a great extent inconsistent with the physiological peculiarities that are in fashion at the moment. Thus, until a year or two since, we insisted that women should be simultaneously good mixers and as thin as rakes. But the born good-mixer is a person of lateral type, plump and well covered. Fashion in this case demanded the conjunction of incompatibles.

All the systems of classification are agreed that no individual belongs exclusively to one type; to some extent all men and women are of mixed type. But the amount of mixing may be small or great. Where it is small, the individual approximates to the pure type and is separated by a great gulf of psychological incommensurability from those in whom the characteristics of some other type predominate. Thus, it is all but impossible for the melancholy man to enter the universe inhabited by the choleric. The person who, if he went mad, would be a manic-depressive, cannot comprehend the potential victim of schizophrenia. The rotund and jolly 'lateral' type is worlds apart from the unexpansive, inward-turning 'linear.' The 'viscerotonic' man simply can't imagine why the 'cerebrotonic' shouldn't be a 'good mixer,' like himself. The one 'has a warm heart'; his 'reins move,' his 'bowels yearn.' The other is 'a highbrow' and 'has no guts.' (Rich treasures of physiological psychology lie buried in the language of the Old Testament and even in schoolboys' slang!)

At this point an example from my own personal experience may not be out of place. My own nature, as it happens, is on the whole phlegmatic, and, in consequence, I have the

INEQUALITY

greatest difficulty in entering into the experiences of those whose emotions are easily and violently aroused. Before such works of art as *Werther*, for example, or *Women in Love*, or the *Prophetic Books* of William Blake I stand admiring, but bewildered. I don't know why people should be shaken by such tempests of emotion on provocations, to my mind, so slight. Reading through the *Prophetic Books* not long ago, I noticed that certain words, such as 'howling,' 'cloud,' 'storm,' 'shriek' occurred with extraordinary frequency. My curiosity was aroused; I made a pencil mark in the margin every time one of these words occurred. Adding up the score at the end of a morning's reading, I found that the average worked out to something like two howls and a tempest to every page of verse. The *Prophetic Books* are, of course, symbolical descriptions of psychological states. What must have been the mentality of a man for whom thunder, lightning, clouds and screams seemed the most appropriate figure of speech for describing his ordinary thoughts and feelings? For my own part, I simply cannot imagine. I observe the facts, I record them—but only from the outside, only as a field naturalist. What they mean in terms of actual experience, I don't even pretend to know. There is a gulf here, an absence of communication. Nevertheless, if I had known Blake, I should certainly have found that there was a common ground between us, that there were ways in which we could have established satisfactory human relations. If, for example, I had behaved towards him with courtesy and consideration, he would almost undoubtedly have behaved towards me in the same manner. If I had treated him honourably, the chances are that he would have treated me honourably. If I had displayed confidence in him, it is highly probable that he would sooner or later have displayed an equal confidence in me. The solution of the problem of natural (and, where it exists, of acquired) inequality is moral and practical. The

ENDS AND MEANS

gulfs which separate human beings of unlike temperaments and different degrees of ability do not extend over the entire field of the personality. The inhabitants of the highlands of Arizona are cut off from one another by the mile-deep abyss of the Grand Canyon. But if they follow the Colorado River down towards its mouth they find themselves at last in the plains at a point where the stream can be conveniently bridged. Something analogous is true in the psychological world. Human beings may be separated by differences of intellectual ability as wide and deep as the Grand Canyon, may peer at one another, uncomprehending, across great gulfs of temperamental dissimilarity. But it is always in their power to move away from the territories in which these divisions exist; it is always possible for them, if they so desire, to find in the common world of action, the site for a broad and substantial bridge connecting even the most completely incommensurable of psychological universes. It is the business of the large-scale reformer so to arrange the structure of society that no impediment shall be put in the way of bridge-building. It is the business of educators and religious teachers to persuade individual men and women that bridge-building is desirable and to teach them at the same time how to translate mere theory and platonic good resolutions into actual practice.

Impediments to bridge-building will be most numerous in communities where inequalities of income (and, along with them, inequalities of education) are very great and where the social pattern is hierarchical and authoritarian. They will be fewest in communities where the principle of self-government is most widely applied, where responsible group-life is most intense, and where inequalities of income and education are small. Feudalism, capitalism and military dictatorship (whether accompanied by public ownership of the means of production or not) are almost equally

INEQUALITY

unfavourable to bridge-building. Under these regimes natural inequalities are emphasized and new artificial inequalities created *ex nihilo*. The most propitious environment for equality is constituted by a society where the means of production are owned co-operatively, where power is decentralized, and where the community is organized in a multiplicity of small, inter-related but, as far as may be, self-governing groups of mutually responsible men and women.

Equality in action—in other words, reciprocal good behaviour—is the only kind of equality that possesses a real existence. But this equality in action cannot be fully realized except where individuals of different types and professions are given opportunities for associating freely and frequently with one another. It is the job of the large-scale reformer to arrange the social structure in such a way that existing obstacles to free and frequent contact between individuals shall be removed and new opportunities for contact created. The change-over from an authoritarian to a co-operative pattern of society would effectively get rid of most of the arbitrary caste barriers which at present make it so hard for individuals to come together freely. At the same time opportunities for the making of new contacts should be created in a variety of ways. For example, it would be possible to extend to a wider circle the advantages of the simultaneously academic and technical system of education developed by Dr. A. E. Morgan at Antioch College, Ohio. (I shall return to this example in the chapter on Education.)

It is not only during the period of formal education that opportunities for new contacts can be made. By arranging for individuals to change over from one job to another, the large-scale reformer can greatly increase the number of personal relationships entered into during any given working life. Such changes of job are valuable, not only because

ENDS AND MEANS

they bring the individual into contact with new groups of his fellow-men and women, but also because they alleviate the boredom induced by monotony and the sight of all-too-familiar surroundings. (Boredom, as we have already seen, is one of the reasons for the persistent popularity of war; any change, whether in the structure of society or in the structure of the individual personality, that tends to reduce boredom, tends also to reduce the danger of war.)

I have given only two examples; but many other methods could doubtless be devised for multiplying valuable contacts and so transforming the life of every individual man and woman into an education in responsibility and equal co-operation.

There are no bridges across the Grand Canyon. Those who live on opposite sides of the abyss must go down to the plains in order to find a crossing-place. But between those who live on the same side, communication is easy. They can come and go without hindrance, can mingle freely with their fellows. In other words, men and women of different types can establish contact with one another only in action, and only on condition of reciprocal good behaviour. Men and women of the same type are psychologically commensurable. Communication between them is, of course, facilitated by reciprocal good behaviour; but even when the behaviour is bad, even when they dislike and mistrust, they can understand one another. Cerebrotonics who have had the same sort of education can come together on the intellectual plane. Viscerotonics will mingle in the loud and expansive good-fellowship which all of them enjoy. Somatotonics will appreciate each other's delight in muscular activity for its own sake. And there are also the smaller sub-divisions. Mathematicians will associate with other mathematicians. The musician speaks a language which all other musicians understand. People with the same kind of eccentric sexual habits meet on the

INEQUALITY

common ground of their particular aberration. (Thus, the freemasonry of homosexuality brings together men of the most diverse types, intraverted intellectuals and bargees, emotional viscerotonic people and people of somatotonic type, professional boxers and able-bodied seamen.) In a word, there will always be a tendency for birds of a feather to flock together. This is inevitable and right. What is not right is that flocking should be exclusively between birds of a feather. It is essential that society should be so arranged that there are opportunities for people of different types to co-operate. This, of course, will not prevent people of the same type from forming groups of their own. For it is fortunately possible for a human being to be a member of many groups simultaneously. Thus, a man may have a family and various sets of friends; may be a member of a professional association, a friendly society, a golf club, a church, a scientific association. It is worth remarking in this context that, so far as the concrete facts of human experience are concerned, 'Society' is a meaningless abstraction. A man has no direct experience of his relations with 'Society'; he has experience only of his relations with limited groups of similar or dissimilar individuals. Social theory and practice have often gone astray, because they have started out from such abstractions as 'Society' instead of the facts of concrete experience—relationships within groups and of groups with one another. It is a significant historical fact that political philosophies which make great play with such large, abstract words as 'Society' have generally been philosophies intended to justify a tyranny, either military-capitalist-feudal, like the tyranny of Hegel's Prussia and Hitler's Third Reich, or military-state-socialist-bureaucratic, like that of Russia after the death of Lenin. If we want to realize the good ends proposed by the prophets, we shall do well to talk less about the claims of 'Society' (which have always, as a matter of brute fact, been

ENDS AND MEANS

identified with the claims of a ruling oligarchy) and more about the rights and duties of small co-operating groups.

Some individuals have more general intelligence than others; some possess special abilities which others lack; certain men and women have a temperament which unfits them to be leaders or administrators; in others, on the contrary, the configuration of the 'humours' is such that they are admirably well adapted to take the direction of a common enterprise. The problem is, first, to see that round and square pegs get into the holes that fit them, and, second, to prevent the born leader, when he is where his abilities entitle him to be, from exploiting his position in undesirable ways.

In his book, *A Chacun sa Chance*, Hyacinthe Dubreuil has pointed out that, where small groups are engaged on a particular job of work for which they are jointly responsible and for which they are rewarded, not as individuals, but as a group, the choice of a leader and the assignment of particular tasks to each individual seldom present any special difficulty. Every man is a very shrewd judge of the professional competence of those who are in the same line of business as himself. Every man knows what fair dealing and consideration are, and generally knows well enough which person, in the particular group in which he happens at the moment to be working, is most likely to be considerate and fair as well as efficient. In most of the situations of working life the exigencies of the job may be relied upon to induce men and women, who are working together in small, co-operating, responsible groups, to elect as group leader and organizer the person who is on the whole best fitted for the post.¹ Nor is there any great danger that

¹ Dubreuil's findings are confirmed by Mr. Peter Scott, who has had wide experience in organizing co-operative groups among the unemployed in South Wales. Such groups, he found, always tended to elect the best men as leaders.

INEQUALITY

such a group leader will be tempted or, if tempted, be able to exploit his position to the detriment of his fellows. The problem of what may be called small-scale leadership is not a difficult one, except in societies of hierarchical pattern. In such societies (and where industrial organization is concerned, even the democratic states are hierarchical and dictatorial), the little leader is constantly tempted to revenge himself on those below him for all the indignities he has received from his superiors. Chickens in a poultry yard have a well-defined 'pecking order.' Hen A pecks hen B, who pecks C, who pecks D and so on. It is the same in human societies under the present dispensation. The tyrannical jack-in-office is to a great extent the product of tyranny in higher places. Big dictators breed little dictators, just as surely as big scorpions breed little scorpions, as big dung-beetles breed little dung-beetles. A society organized, not hierarchically, but on co-operative lines, and in which the principle of self-government is applied wherever possible, should be tolerably immune from the plague of small-scale tyranny.

Bad leadership is undesirable at any social level. At the top, it may produce, not merely local discomfort, but general disaster. The body politic is subject to two grave diseases in the head, madness and imbecility. When people like Sulla or Napoleon assume the functions of the social brain, the community which they direct succumbs to some form of insanity. Most commonly the disease is paranoia; all the contemporary dictatorships, for example, suffer acutely from delusions of grandeur and of persecution. The alternative to mad King Stork is, only too frequently, a hopelessly inactive and deficient King Log who infects the body politic with his own imbecility. Imbeciles rise to power either by hereditary right or, if the system of choice is elective, because they possess certain demagogic talents, or very often, because it suits certain powerful interests within the community to have an imbecile in office. Most

ENDS AND MEANS

modern societies have abolished the hereditary principle in politics; idiots can no longer rule a country by right of blood. In the world of finance and industry, however, the hereditary principle is still admitted; morons and drunkards may be company directors by divine right. In the world of politics, the chances of getting imbecile leaders under an elective system could be considerably reduced by applying to politicians a few of those tests for intellectual, physical and moral fitness which we apply to the candidates for almost every other kind of job. Imagine the outcry if hotel-keepers were to engage servants without demanding a 'character' from their previous employers; or if sea captains were chosen from homes for inebriates; or if railway companies entrusted their trains to locomotive engineers with arterio-sclerosis and prostate trouble; or if civil servants were appointed and doctors allowed to practise without passing an examination! And yet, where the destinies of whole nations are at stake, we do not hesitate to entrust the direction of affairs to men of notoriously bad character; to men sodden with alcohol; to men so old and infirm that they can't do their work or even understand what it is about; to men without ability or even education. In practically every other sphere of activity we have accepted the principle that nobody may be admitted to hold responsible positions unless he can pass an examination, show a clean bill of health and produce satisfactory testimonials as to his moral character; and even then the office is given, in most cases, only on the condition that its holder shall relinquish it as soon as he reaches the threshold of old age. By applying these rudimentary precautions to politicians, we should be able to filter out of our public life a great deal of that self-satisfied stupidity, that authoritative senile incompetence, that downright dishonesty, which at present contaminates it.

To guard against the man of active, paranoid ambition,

INEQUALITY

the potential King Stork of a political or industrial society, is more difficult than to guard against the half-wit, the dodderer and the petty crook. Political and legal checks to ambition, such as those contained in the American Constitution, are effective up to a certain point, but only up to a certain point. Legal checks and balances are merely institutionalized mistrust; and mistrust, however elaborately and ingeniously translated into terms of law, can never be an adequate foundation for social life. If people do not wish to play the political or industrial game according to the prescribed rules, no amount of surveillance will keep them from taking unfair advantages whenever they offer. 'Over the mountains,' runs the old song, 'and under the graves': avarice and the lust for power will 'find out the way' even more surely than love. They will find out the way for just so long as people are brought up to regard ambition as a virtue and the accumulation of money as men's most important business. At present, we choose to organize our political and economic life and to educate our children in such a way that we must inevitably suffer, as time goes on, more and more severely and chronically from the organized paranoia of dictatorship. But even if reforms were carried out to-day their full effects would not be felt until those brought up under the present dispensation had either died or sunk into impotent old age. Meanwhile, it may be asked, are there any changes in social organization which would make it more difficult for the ambitious men to impose their wills upon society?

An examination system would rid our business and our politics of imbeciles and the more simple-minded types of crook. It would do little to keep out the individual of consuming ambition, and nothing at all, when he had passed his tests, to educate him into a more desirable, less greedily Napoleonic frame of mind. Something more is needed than examinations. Mere social machinery cannot give

ENDS AND MEANS

us the whole of that something more: but as much of it as social machinery *can* give could probably be provided by some institution akin to that of the Chartered Accountants. A self-governing union of professional men, who have accepted certain rules, assumed certain responsibilities for one another, and can focus the whole force of their organized public opinion, in withering disapproval, upon any delinquent member of the society—such an organization is one of the most powerfully educative social devices ever invented. Leadership will never be made expert and responsible until there is an institute of chartered business managers, another of chartered politicians and yet another of chartered administrators. (In England the higher civil service is almost a caste, having its own rules and standards, which it enforces by distributing that most gratifying form of praise, that most unbearable form of blame, the praise and blame of fellow professionals. To the fact that it approximates so nearly to an institute of chartered administrators it owes its efficiency and its remarkable freedom from corruption.)

Examinations and membership of a professional order would unquestionably do a great deal to raise the standard of political and economic leadership and to check the tendency of ambitious individuals to exceed due bounds. To extend the application of an old is always easier than to introduce a new and unfamiliar principle; and as the examination system is almost universally in use and the chartered professional organization widely known and respected, there should be no great difficulty in merely widening their field of applicability. Only in some such way as this can we minimize the social dangers inherent in the fact of individual inequality,

Chapter XII

EDUCATION

PROFESSIONAL educationists and, along with them, certain psychologists, have been inclined to exaggerate the efficacy of childhood training and the accidents of early life. The Jesuits used to boast that, if they were given the child at a sufficiently early age, they could answer for the man. Similarly, the Freudians attribute all men's spiritual ills to their experience during early childhood. But the Jesuits trained up free-thinkers and revolutionaries as well as docile believers. And many psychologists are turning away from the view that all neuroses are due to some crucial experience in infancy. 'Treatment in accordance with the trauma theory is often,' writes Jung, 'extremely harmful to the patient, for he is forced to search in his memory—perhaps over a course of years—for a hypothetical event in his childhood, while things of immediate importance are grossly neglected.' The truth is that a man is affected, not only by his past, but also by his present and what he foresees of the future. The conditioning process which takes place during childhood does not completely predetermine the behaviour of the man. To some extent, at any rate, he can be re-conditioned by the circumstances of his adolescent and adult life; to some extent his will is free, and, if he so chooses and knows the right way to set about it, he can re-condition himself. This re-conditioning may be in a desirable direction; it may equally well be in an undesirable one. For example, the conditioning which children now receive in nursery schools is generally excellent. That which they receive in more advanced

ENDS AND MEANS

schools is generally bad. In spite of the Jesuits and Freud, the bad conditioning during adolescence effectively neutralizes the results of good conditioning during childhood. In his *Anatomy of Frustration*, Mr. H. G. Wells makes his hero comment upon the distressing difference between 'the charm, the alert intelligence, the fearless freedom of the modern child of six or seven and the slouching mental futility of the ordinary youth in his later teens.' The first is the product of the nursery school; the second of the elementary and secondary, the preparatory and public school. We educate young children for freedom, intelligence, responsibility and voluntary co-operation; we educate older children for passive acceptance of tradition and for either dominance or subordination. This fact is symptomatic of the uncertainty of purpose which prevails in the Western democracies. The old patriarchal tradition co-exists in our minds with a newer and quite incompatible hankering for freedom and democracy. In our enthusiasm for the second, we train up our young children to be free, self-governing individuals; having done which, we take fright and, remembering that our society is still hierarchical, still in great measure authoritarian, we devote all our energies to teaching them to be rulers on the one hand and, on the other, acquiescent subordinates.

Here, in passing, it may be remarked that 'modern' schools may be too 'modern' by half. There is a danger that children may be given more freedom than they can profitably deal with, more responsibility than they desire or know how to take. To give children too much freedom and responsibility is to impose a strain which many of them find distressing and even exhausting. Exceptional cases apart, children like to have security, like to feel the support of a firm framework of moral laws and even of rules of polite conduct. Within such a firmly established framework there is plenty of room for a training in

EDUCATION

independence, responsibility and co-operation. The important thing is to avoid extremes—the extreme of too much liberty and responsibility on the one hand and, on the other, of too much restriction, above all too much restriction of the wrong sort. For the fixed framework may just as well be a bad code as a good one. Children may derive just as comforting a sense of security from the moral code, say, of militarism as from that of non-attachment. But the results of an upbringing within a framework of militaristic morality will be quite different from the results of an upbringing in the ethic of non-attachment.

Coming back to the world as we know it, we have to ask ourselves an important question. Even if we were to prolong the nursery-school type of training—training, that is to say, for self-government and responsible co-operation—if we were to continue it far into adolescence, would we, in the existing world, succeed in making any conspicuous change for the better in society or the individuals composing it? Practical life is the most efficient of all teachers. Take adolescents trained for self-government and co-operation and turn them loose into a hierarchical, competitive, success-worshipping society: what will happen? Will the effects of the conditioning received in school survive? Probably not. Most likely, there will be a period of bewilderment and distress; then, in the majority of cases, readjustment to the circumstances of life. Which shows, yet once more, that life is a whole and that desirable changes in one department will not produce the results anticipated from them, unless they are accompanied by desirable changes in all other departments.

In the preceding paragraph I have suggested that a good education is not that infallible cure of all our ills which some enthusiasts have supposed it to be. Or rather that it can become such a cure only when it is associated with

ENDS AND MEANS

good conditions in other departments of life. As usual it is not a question of simple cause and effect, but of complex interrelationship, of action and reaction. Good education will be fully effective only when there are good social conditions and, among individuals, good beliefs and feelings; but social conditions, and the beliefs and feelings of individuals will not be altogether satisfactory until there is good education. The problem of reform is the problem of breaking out of a vicious circle and of building up a virtuous one in its place.

The time has now come when we must ask ourselves in what precisely a good education consists. In the first years and months of infancy education is mainly physiological; the child, to use the language of the kennel, is house-trained. In the past this seemed a trivial and unsavoury matter which it was at once unnecessary and indelicate to discuss. In the words of Uncle Toby Shandy, one wiped it up and said no more about it. Modern psychologists have discovered that the subject is by no means a trivial one and that, for the infant at least, excretion and the process of house-training are matters of the deepest concern. In this context I need mention only the work of the late Dr. Suttie, whose book, *The Origins of Love and Hatred*, contains an interesting chapter on the effects of early house-training upon the emotional life of human beings. These effects, it would seem, are generally bad; and he gives reasons for supposing that our emotional life would be much more serene if our training in cleanliness had not started so early. Messy children are a nuisance; but if, by allowing them to make their messes, we can guarantee that they shall grow up into gentle, unquarrelsome adults, free from what Suttie calls our 'taboo on tenderness,' the nuisance will be very bearable.

So much for the physiological education of infancy. We now come to the moral and intellectual education of

EDUCATION

later childhood. The two are, of course, inseparable; but it will be convenient to consider them one at a time. Let us begin by asking in what a desirable moral education consists. Our aim, let us recall, is to train up human beings for freedom, for justice, for peace. How shall it be done? In his recent book, *Which Way to Peace?* Bertrand Russell has written a significant paragraph on this subject. 'Schools,' he says, 'have very greatly improved during the present century, at any rate in the countries which have remained democratic. In the countries which have military dictatorships, including Russia, there has been a great retrogression during the last ten years, involving a revival of strict discipline, implicit obedience, a ridiculously subservient behaviour towards teachers and passive rather than active *methods of acquiring knowledge*. All this is rightly held by the governments concerned to be a method of producing a militaristic mentality, at once obedient and domineering, cowardly and brutal. . . . From the practice of the despots, we can see that they agree with the advocates of "modern" education as regards the connection between discipline in schools and the love of war in later life.'

Dr. Maria Montessori has developed the same theme in a recent pamphlet: 'The child who has never learned to act alone, to direct his own actions, to govern his own will, grows into an adult who is easily led and must always lean upon others. The school child, being continually discouraged and scolded, ends by acquiring that mixture of distrust of his own powers and of fear, which is called shyness and which later, in the grown man, takes the form of discouragement and submissiveness, of incapacity to put up the slightest moral resistance. The obedience which is expected of a child both in the home and in the school—an obedience admitting neither of reason nor of justice—prepares the man to be docile to blind forces. The punish-

ENDS AND MEANS

ment, so common in schools, which consists in subjecting the culprit to public reprimand and is almost tantamount to the torture of the pillory, fills the soul with a crazy, unreasoning fear of public opinion, even an opinion manifestly unjust and false. In the midst of these adaptations and many others which set up a permanent inferiority complex, is born the spirit of devotion—not to say of idolatry—to the *condottieri*, the leaders.’ Dr. Montessori might have added that the inferiority complex often finds expression in compensatory brutality and cruelty. The traditional education is a training for life in a hierarchical, militaristic society, in which people are abjectly obedient to their superiors and inhuman to their inferiors. Each slave ‘takes it out of’ the slave below.

In the light of these two citations, we are able to understand more clearly why history should have taken the course it actually has taken in recent years. The intensification of militarism and nationalism, the rise of dictatorships, the spread of authoritarian rule at the expense of democratic government—these are phenomena which, like all other events in human history, have a variety of interacting causes. Most conspicuous among these, of course, are the economic and political causes. But these do not stand alone. There are also educational and psychological causes. Among these must be reckoned the fact that, for the last sixty years, all children have been subjected to the strict, authoritarian discipline of state schools. In recent European history, such a thing has never happened before. At certain periods, it is true, and in certain classes of society, the discipline imposed within the family was exceedingly strict. For example, the seventeenth-century Puritan family was governed almost as arbitrarily and as harshly as the family of the Roman farmer or the Japanese Samurai. Samurai and Roman had the same end in view—to train up children in the military virtues, so that they should become good

EDUCATION

soldiers. The Puritan had a religious end in view; he was imitating Jehovah; he was breaking his children's will because St. Augustine and Calvin had taught him that that will was essentially evil. And yet, though the ends were different, the results of the Puritan's educational system were the same as those attained by the essentially similar system devised by the Roman and the Samurai for quite another end. His children became *first-rate soldiers*; and when they were not called upon to go to war, they exhibited their militaristic qualities in the field of commerce and industry, becoming (as Tawney and Weber have shown) the first and almost the most ruthless of the capitalists. The Puritans, I repeat, were strict disciplinarians within the family. But not all the population was composed of Puritans. When most children were brought up within the family, a great many experienced only kindness and consideration. In other cases spasmodic brutality alternated with spasmodic affection. In yet others, no doubt, parents would have liked to impose a strict Roman or Hebrew discipline, but were too lazy to do so systematically, so that the child came through almost unscathed. It is a highly significant fact that the members of the upper classes, who, as children had been under tutors or sent to school, were always the actively militaristic element in mediaeval and early modern society. The common people were seldom spontaneously bellicose. War and imperialistic brigandage were the preoccupation of their masters—men who had enjoyed the privilege, during boyhood, of being bullied by some sharp-tongued, hard-hitting pedagogue.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, secondary education for the middle classes was enormously extended; in the second half, primary education was made universally compulsory. For the first time, *all* children were subjected to strict, systematic, unremitting discipline—the kind of

ENDS AND MEANS

discipline that 'produces a militaristic mentality, at once obedient and domineering.' The members of the middle and upper classes still undergo, in most countries, a longer period of education than do the poor. This is why the members of the middle and upper classes are still, on the whole, more bellicose than the members of the working class. (Such organizations as the Peace Pledge Union have more adherents among the poor than among the rich.) Even the poor, however, are now given several years of authoritarian discipline. The decline of democracy has coincided exactly with the rise to manhood and political power of the second generation of the compulsorily educated proletariat. This is no fortuitous coincidence. By 1920 all the Europeans who had escaped compulsory primary education were either dead or impotently old. The masses had gone through, first, six or seven years of drilling in school, then, in most countries, anything from one to three years of conscription, and finally the four years of the war. Enough military discipline to make them 'at once obedient and domineering.' The most actively domineering ones climbed to the top, the rest obeyed and were given, as a reward, the privilege of bullying those beneath them in the new political hierarchies.

The early educational reformers believed that universal primary and, if possible, secondary education would free the world from its chains and make it 'safe for democracy.' If it has not done so—if, on the contrary, it has merely prepared the world for dictatorship and universal war—the reason is extremely simple. You cannot reach a given historical objective by walking in the opposite direction. If your goal is liberty and democracy, then you must teach people the arts of being free and of governing themselves. If you teach them instead the arts of bullying and passive obedience, then you will not achieve the

EDUCATION

liberty and democracy at which you are aiming. Good ends cannot be achieved by inappropriate means. The truth is infinitely obvious. Nevertheless we refuse to act upon it. That is why we find ourselves in our present predicament.

The two types of education—education for freedom and responsibility, education for bullying and subordination—coexist in the democracies of the West, where nursery schools belong to the first, and most other schools to the second type. In Fascist countries, not even nursery schools may belong to the first type. Significantly enough, the Montessori Society of Germany was dissolved by the political police in 1935; and, in July 1936, Mussolini's Minister of Education decreed the cessation of all official Montessori activities in Italy. In the days of Lenin, Russian education was based, at every stage, upon principles essentially similar to those enunciated by Dr. Montessori. In the manifestos and decrees published shortly after Lenin's seizure of power one may read such phrases as these. 'Utilization of a system of marks for estimating the knowledge and conduct of the pupil is abolished. . . . Distribution of medals and insignia is abolished. . . . The old form of discipline which corrupts the entire life of the school and the untrammelled development of the personality of the child, cannot be maintained in the schools of labour. The progress of labour itself develops this internal discipline without which collective and rational work is unimaginable. . . . All punishment in schools is forbidden. . . . All examinations are abolished. . . . The wearing of school uniform is abolished.'

On September 4th, 1935, a Decree on Academic Reform was issued by the Stalin Government. This decree contained, among others, the following orders: 'Instruct a commission . . . to elaborate a draft of a ruling for every type of school. The ruling must have a categorical and

ENDS AND MEANS

absolutely obligatory character for pupils as well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document . . . which strictly establishes the regime of studies and the basis for order in the school. . . . Underlying the ruling on the conduct of pupils is to be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline. . . . In the personal record there will be entered for the entire duration of his studies the marks of the pupil for every quarter, his prizes and his punishments. . . . A special apparatus of Communist Youth organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils. . . . Establish a single form of dress for the pupils of the primary, semi-secondary and secondary schools, this uniform to be introduced, to begin with, in 1936 in the schools of Moscow.'

This decree was followed by another, issued in February 1937, ordering that the existing organizations for giving military training to young children (from eight years old upwards) should be strengthened and extended. Such systems of infantile conscription already exist in the Fascist countries and, if the threat of war persists, will doubtless soon be imposed upon the democracies of the West.

Any change for the worse in educational methods means a change for the worse in the mentality of millions of human beings during their whole lifetime. Early conditioning, as I have pointed out, does not irrevocably and completely determine adult behaviour; but it does unquestionably make it difficult for individuals to think, feel and act otherwise than as they have been taught to do in childhood. Where social conditions are in harmony with the prevailing system of education, the task of getting outside the circle of early conditioning may be almost insuperably difficult. Stalin has made it practically certain

EDUCATION

that, for the next thirty or forty years, the prevailing Russian philosophy of life shall be essentially militaristic.

Discipline is not the only instrument of character training. One of the major psychological discoveries of modern times was the discovery that the play, not only of small children, but (even more significantly) of adolescents and adults could be turned to educational purposes. Partly by accident, partly by subtle and profound design, English educators of the second half of the nineteenth century evolved the idea of organizing sport for the purpose of training the character of their pupils. At Rugby, during Tom Brown's schooldays, there were no organized games. Dr. Arnold was too whole-heartedly a low-church social reformer, too serious-minded a student of Old Testament history, to pay much attention to a matter seemingly so trivial as his boys' amusements. A generation later, cricket and football were compulsory in every English Public School, and organized sport was being used more and more consciously as a means of shaping the character of the English gentleman.

Like every other instrument that man has invented, sport can be used either for good or for evil purposes. Used well, it can teach endurance and courage, a sense of fair play and a respect for rules, co-ordinated effort and the subordination of personal interests to those of the group. Used badly, it can encourage personal vanity and group vanity, greedy desire for victory and hatred for rivals, an intolerant *esprit de corps* and contempt for people who are beyond a certain arbitrarily selected pale. In either case sport inculcates responsible co-operation; but when it is used badly the co-operation is for undesirable ends and the result upon the individual character is an increase of attachment; when it is used well, the character is modified in the direction of non-attachment. Sport can be either a preparation for war or, in some measure, a

ENDS AND MEANS

substitute for war; a trainer either of potential war-mongers or of potential peace-lovers; an educative influence forming either militarists or men who will be ready and able to apply the principles of pacifism in every activity of life. It is for us to choose which part the organized amusements of children and adults shall play. In the dictatorial countries the choice has been made, consciously and without compromise. Sport there is definitely a preparation for war—doubly a preparation. It is used, first of all, to prepare children for the term of military slavery which they will have to serve when they come of age—to train them in habits of endurance, courage, and co-ordinated effort, and to cultivate that *esprit de corps*, that group-vanity and group-pride which are the very foundations of the character of a good soldier. In the second place, it is used as an instrument of nationalistic propaganda. Football matches with teams belonging to foreign countries are treated as matters of national prestige; victory is hailed as a triumph over an enemy, a sign of racial or national superiority; a defeat is put down to foul play and treated almost as a *casus belli*. Optimistic theorists count sport as a bond between nations. In the present state of nationalistic feeling it is only another cause of international misunderstanding. The battles waged on the football field and the race-track are merely preliminaries to, and even contributory causes of, more serious contests. In a world that has no common religion or philosophy of life, but where every national group practises its own private idolatry, international football matches and athletic contests can do almost nothing but harm.

The choice of the dictators has been, as I have said, definite and uncompromising. They have decided that sport shall be used above all as a preparation for war. In the democratic countries we are, as usual, of two minds. The idea of using sport solely as a preparation for war

EDUCATION

seems to us shocking; at the same time we cannot bring ourselves to use it, consciously and consistently, as an instrument for training active peace-lovers. To some extent we still use sport as a training for militarists. 'The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton,' and it was on these and a score or two of other school playgrounds that the Indian Empire was conquered and held down. The Amritsar massacre is a genuine, hall-marked product of the prefectorial system and compulsory cricket. 'His captain's hand on his shoulder smote: "Play up, and play the game."' The game was played in that high-walled Jalianwallabagh to the tune of I forget how many hundreds of dead and wounded. But if India was conquered and is now held down on the playing fields of the English Public Schools, it is also administered there, and administered with a considerable degree of justice and incorruptibility. It is even in process (very gradually and reluctantly, it is true) of being liberated on those same fields. In the half-democracy of modern England, sport is not used solely as a preparation for war and the fostering of group-vanity and group-pride; it is also used for teaching boys to behave with genuine decency—in other words, as a training in non-attachment. In the world as it is at present, we cannot afford to be of two minds. Either we must make use of sport (and in general the whole educational system) as a device for training up non-attached, non-militaristic men and women; or else, under the urgent threat of war, we must make up our minds to out-Prussianize the Nazis and, on the playing fields of Eton and the other schools, prepare for the winning of future Waterloos. The first alternative involves great risk, but may lead, not only the English, but the whole world besides, out of the valley of destruction in which the human race is now precariously living. The second alternative can lead only to the worsening of international relations and

ENDS AND MEANS

ultimately to general catastrophe. Unhappily, it is towards the second alternative that the rulers of England now seem to be inclining.

I have spoken hitherto as though there were only one type of sound education. But we have seen, in the chapter on Inequality, that human beings are of several different types. This being so, is it not a mistake to prescribe one system of character-training? Should there not be several systems? The answer to these questions is at once yes and no. It is not a mistake to prescribe only one system of character-training, because (to repeat the words used in an earlier chapter) it is always in men's power to move away from the territories in which psychological divisions exist, because it is always possible for them, if they so desire, to find in the common world of action the site for a broad, substantial bridge connecting even the most completely incommensurable of psychological universes. Character-training through self-government, through responsible co-operation, through the voluntarily accepted discipline of games, is something which goes on in that common world of action, in which alone it is possible for individuals of different psychological types to come together. To prescribe one fundamental technique of character-training is therefore no mistake. On the other hand it would obviously be foolish not to adapt the one fundamental technique to the different types of individual. To discuss the nature of these variations would take a long time and, since the matter is not one of fundamental importance, I will proceed at once to a consideration of my next topic, which is education as instruction.

In most of the civilized countries of the West primary education has been universal and compulsory for sixty years and more. Secondary and higher education have also been made available—less freely in England than in America, in France and Italy than in Germany, but everywhere to

EDUCATION

very considerable numbers of young people and adults. When we compare the high hopes entertained by the early advocates of universal education with the results actually achieved after two generations of intensive and extensive teaching, we cannot fail to be somewhat discouraged. Millions of children have passed thousands of millions of hours under schoolroom discipline, reading the Bible, listening to pi-jaws—and the peoples of the world are preparing for mutual slaughter more busily and more scientifically than ever before; humanitarianism is visibly declining; the idolatrous worship of strong men is on the increase; international politics are conducted with a degree of brutal cynicism unknown since the days of Pope Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia. From moral we pass to intellectual education. The best that has been thought and said has been bawled by millions of pedagogues, millions of times, into millions of little ears—and the yellow press, the tabloids, the *grands journaux d'information* circulate by scores of millions every morning and evening of the year; each month the pulp magazines offer to millions of readers their quota of true confessions, film fun, spicy detective stories, hot mysteries; all day long in the movie palaces millions of feet of imbecile and morally squalid film are unrolled before a succession of audiences; from a thousand transmitting stations streams of music (mostly bad) and political propaganda (mostly false and malevolent) are poured out, for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, into the contaminated ether. Instruments of marvellous ingenuity and power on the one hand; and, on the other, ways of using those instruments which are either idiotic, or criminal, or both together. Such are the moral and intellectual fruits of our system of education. It is time that something was done to change the nature of the tree that bears these fruits.

In earlier paragraphs I have indicated what must be done

ENDS AND MEANS

if we wish to breed up a race of non-attached, actively peace-loving men and women. We now have to consider the best methods for fostering intelligence and imparting knowledge.

At the present time education-as-instruction assumes one of two forms—academic (or liberal) education and technical education. Academic education is supposed to do two things for those who are subjected to it; it is supposed, first of all, to be a gymnastic, by means of which they will be able to develop all the faculties of their minds, from the power of logical analysis to that of aesthetic appreciation; and, in the second place, it is supposed to provide young people with a framework of historical, logical and physico-chemico-biological relationships, within which any particular piece of information acquired in later life may find its proper and significant place. Technical education, on the other hand, aims merely at practical results and is supposed to give young people proficiency in some particular trade or profession.

Recent investigations (for example, that which was carried out a few years ago by the Scottish education authorities) have given statistical form and content to the conclusions which personal experience had long since forced upon the practising teacher: namely, that academic education (although grudgingly dispensed, at any rate in its secondary and higher forms) is given to large numbers of boys and girls who are unable to derive much profit from it. To some extent, no doubt, this failure to profit by academic education is due to the defects of our teaching system or to the shortcomings of individual teachers. (Teaching is an art, not a science; bad artists have always greatly outnumbered the good.) However, when all allowances have been made, it seems perfectly clear that very many young people—probably an absolute majority of them—are congenitally incapable of receiving what academic

EDUCATION

education has to offer. At the same time it is no less clear that many of those who are able to stay the course of an academic education emerge from the ordeal either as parrots, gabbling remembered formulas which they do not really understand; or, if they *do* understand, as specialists, knowing everything about one subject and taking no interest in anything else; or, finally, as intellectuals, theoretically knowledgeable about everything, but hopelessly inept in the affairs of ordinary life. Something analogous happens to the pupils of technical schools. They come out into the world, highly expert in their particular job, but knowing very little about anything else and having no integrating principle in terms of which they can arrange and give significance to such knowledge as they may subsequently acquire.

Can these defects in our educational system be remedied? I think they can. We must begin by the frankest, the most objectively scientific acceptance of the fact that human beings belong to different types. Congenitally, the cerebrotonic is not such a 'good mixer' as the viscerotonic, who may be so deeply absorbed in his rich emotional life as to be unwilling to concern himself with the intellectual pursuits at which the cerebrotonic excels. Again, the somatotonic is predestined by his psycho-physical make-up to be more interested in, and more proficient at, muscular than intellectual or emotional activity. Or take particular talents; these, it would seem, are often given and can be developed only at the expense of other talents. (For example, good mathematicians are often musical, but very rarely have any appreciation of the visual arts.) Then there is the problem—still to some extent the subject of controversy—of the degrees of intelligence. Intelligence tests have been improved in recent years; but they will become fully significant only when the results of the tests are given in their proper context. The affirmation that

ENDS AND MEANS

A's intelligence quotient is higher than B's tells us, as it stands, very little; if it is to be really significant, we must know a number of other facts—whether, for example, A and B belong to the same psycho-physical type or to different types, whether they approximate to the pure type or are greatly mixed. And so on. The intelligence test, then, is an imperfect instrument; but, imperfect as it is, it has done something to give statistical form and content to the universally held conviction that some people are stupider than others. Having accepted the fact that human beings belong to different types, are gifted with different talents and have different degrees of intelligence, we must attempt to give each the education best calculated to develop his or her capacities to their utmost. In a rather crude and inefficient way, this is what we are attempting to do even now. Clever boys pass examinations and are given scholarships that take them from primary to secondary schools and from secondary schools to universities. Handy boys are apprenticed or sent to technical schools to learn some skilled trade. And so on. A rough and ready system—a good deal rougher than readier. Its defects are twofold. First, the methods employed for choosing the candidates for the different kinds of education are far from satisfactory. And, second, the kinds of education to which successful candidates are subjected are even less satisfactory than the methods of choice.

About the examination system it is unnecessary for me to speak at length. Most educators agree in theory that a single crucial examination does not provide the best test of a person's ability. Many of them have even passed from theory to practice and are giving up the single, crucial examination in favour of a series of periodical tests of knowledge and intelligence and the reports, over a span of years, of teachers and inspectors. Supplemented by an expert grading in terms of psycho-physical type, the second

EDUCATION

method of choosing candidates for the various kinds of education should prove quite satisfactory.

We must now consider the various kinds of education to which (according to their type) young people should be subjected.

We have seen that both the existing kinds of education, technical as well as academic or liberal, are unsatisfactory. The problem before us is this: to amend them in such a way that technical education shall become more liberal, and academic education a more adequate preparation for everyday life in a society which is to be changed for the better.

A liberal education is supposed to provide, first, a gymnastic, second, a frame of reference. In other words, it is supposed to be simultaneously a device for fostering intelligence and the source of a principle of integration.

In academic education as we know it to-day, the principle of integration is mainly scientific and historical. We can put the matter in another way and say that the frame of reference is logical and factual, and that the facts with which the logical intellect is trained to deal are mainly facts about the material universe and about humanity as a part of the material universe. (History, as taught in schools and colleges, is of two kinds: non-scientific history, which is merely a branch of nationalistic propaganda, and scientific history, which is almost a branch of physics. Scientific historians treat facts about human beings as though they were facts about the material universe. They write about men as though men were gas molecules that could be dealt with most effectively in terms of the law of averages.)

The man who goes through a course of our academic education may come out a parrot. In this case we say that the education has failed of its purpose. Or he may come out as an efficient specialist. In this case we say that

ENDS AND MEANS

the education has been only partially successful. Or else (and when this happens we think that education has worked very successfully) he may emerge as an intellectual—that is to say, a person who has learned to establish relations between the different elements of his sum of knowledge, one who possesses a coherent system of relationships into which he can fit all such new items of information as he may pick up in the course of his life. We can define this system of relationships in terms of what is known and say (what has been said above) that it is predominantly scientific and historical, logical and factual. We can also define it in terms of the knower and say that it is predominantly cognitive, not affective or conative.

The parrot repeats, but does not understand; the narrow specialist understands, but understands only his speciality; the accomplished intellectual understands the relations subsiding between many sectors of apprehended reality, but does so only theoretically. He knows, but is fired by no desire to act upon his knowledge and has received no training in such action. We see, then, that even the man whom we are accustomed to regard as the successful product of our academic education is an unsatisfactory person.

To the pupils of our technical schools, no principle of integration is given. Their teachers provide them with no frame of reference, no coherent system of relationships. They are taught a job and no more—equipped with a technique and just so much of the theory lying behind that particular technique as will make them efficient workers. They emerge into the world wholly unprepared to deal in an intelligent way with the facts of experience. The web of understanding which, in the mind of the accomplished intellectual, connects the atom with the spiral nebula and both with this morning's breakfast, the music of Bach, the pottery of neolithic China, what you will—this network

EDUCATION

of cognitive relationships is all but completely lacking. Bits of information exist for the technically educated man, not as parts of one vast continuum, but in isolation, like so many stars dotted about in a gulf of black incomprehension. Or if there is a continuum, the chances are that it will be composed of ideas borrowed from a Bronze-Age theology, from anecdotal history, from philosophy as taught in the newspaper and the films. The successful product of technical education is as unsatisfactory as the successful product of academic education.

What is the remedy for this state of things? Some people have suggested that technical education should be liberalized, like academic education, in terms of general knowledge—above all, knowledge of scientific facts and theories. They have suggested that technicians should be given a principle of integration fundamentally similar to that employed by the intellectual—a principle of integration which the knower feels to be mainly cognitive and which, defined in terms of the known, is mainly scientific.

There are two good reasons for thinking that this suggestion is unsound. First of all, the great majority of those who undergo technical education are incapable of using this principle of integration and, being incapable of using it, are therefore uninterested in it. Even among those who go through a course of our academic education, only a few emerge as accomplished intellectuals. Most of them emerge as parrots or specialists. (A good proportion of these return to the schools as teachers and proceed to train up other parrots and specialists.) Minds that delight in what may be called large-scale knowledge—knowledge, that is to say, of the relations subsisting between things and events widely separated in space or time and seemingly irrelevant one to another—are rare. Academic education is supposed to impart such knowledge and to

ENDS AND MEANS

infect men and women with the desire to possess it; but in actual fact few are so infected and few go out into the world possessing it. To provide people with a principle of integration which it is almost certain that they will not wish or be able to use is mere foolishness.

Nor is this all. We have seen that even the accomplished intellectual is a far from satisfactory person. His involvement with the world is only cognitive, not affective nor conative. Moreover, the framework into which he fits his experience is the framework of the natural sciences and of history treated as though it too were one of the natural sciences. He is concerned mainly with the material universe and with humanity as a part of the material universe. He is not concerned with humanity as human, as potentially more than human. One of the results of this preoccupation with the material universe is that, on the rare occasions when the intellectual does become affectively and conatively involved with the world of human reality, he tends to exhibit a curious impatience which easily degenerates into ruthlessness. Thinking of human beings 'scientifically,' as parts of the material universe, he doesn't see why they shouldn't be handled as other parts of the material universe are handled—dumped here, like coal or sand, made to flow there, like water, 'liquidated' (the Russians preserve the vocabulary of the intellectuals who prepared and made their revolution), like so much ice over a fire.

Technical education is without a principle of integration; academic education makes use of a principle that integrates only on the cognitive plane, only in terms of a natural science preoccupied with the laws of the material universe. What is needed is another principle of integration—a principle which the technicians and the unsuccessful academics will be congenitally capable of using; a principle that will co-ordinate the scattered fragments, the island universes of specialized or merely professional knowledge; a principle

EDUCATION

that will supplement the scientifico-historical frame of reference at present used by intellectuals, that will help, perhaps, to transform them from mere spectators of the human scene into intelligent participants.

What should be the nature of this new principle of integration? The answer seems clear enough, at any rate in its main outlines: it should be psychological and ethical. Within the new frame of reference, co-ordination of knowledge and experience would be made in human terms; the network of significant relations would be, not material, but psychological; not indifferent to values, but moral; not merely cognitive, but also affective and conative.

A concrete example will make my meaning clear. Here is a young man in process of being trained in engineering and practical mechanics. Under the existing dispensation, the chances are that he will come out into the world profoundly ignorant of everything but his speciality. His education will have failed to equip him with any principle by means of which he can integrate his future experiences and accessions of knowledge. Educationists trained up in the existing academic schools believe that it will be possible to liberalize his education by somehow leading him from the practical and the particular to general scientific theory. Give him, they say, a mastery of general scientific theory, and he will have a principle by means of which he will be able to integrate all his knowledge and experience. In the abstract this scheme seems good enough; but in practice it just doesn't work. For the probability is that the young man will not be interested in general scientific theory, that he will have neither the wish nor the ability to integrate his experience and his knowledge in terms of the laws of the material universe. As a matter of brute historical fact, the great advances in scientific theory have very seldom been made by skilled artisans. The practical man who knows his job is interested in the job and perhaps

ENDS AND MEANS

in just as much of the theory underlying his practice as will enable him to do the job better. Very rarely does he develop into the scientist, and few indeed are the fruitful generalizations which we owe to such men. In general, the advances in scientific theory have been made by men of another type—men who did not concern themselves professionally with technical problems, but who merely looked at them as outsiders and then proceeded to generalize and rationalize what was merely particular and empirical. Between the practical man and the man who is interested in scientific theories of the universe at large a gulf is fixed. They belong to different types. The attempt to liberalize technical education by means of the principle which intellectuals use to integrate their experience is foredoomed to failure.

Man is the only subject in which, whatever their type or the degree of their ability, all men are interested. The future engineer may be unable and unwilling to go far in the study of the laws of the material universe. There will be no difficulty, however, in getting him to take an interest in human affairs. It is, therefore, in terms of human affairs that his technical education can best be liberalized. There would be no difficulty in integrating any technical subject into a comprehensive scheme of relations within our human, ethico-psychological framework. The technical course would be accompanied by a course explaining the effects, as measured in terms of good and evil, well-being and suffering, of the technique in question. Our hypothetical young man would learn, not only to be a mechanician, but also to understand the ways in which machinery affects, has affected and is likely to affect, the lives of men and women. He could begin with the effects of machinery upon the individual—such effects as are discussed, for example, in Stuart Chase's essay in contemporary history, *Men and Machines*, or in the Hammonds' account

EDUCATION

of the industrial revolution. Next, the broader social effects could be studied—the transformation of technically backward countries, the destruction of old-established trades, the creation of new industries. In these and similar ways a complete network of relationships could be created in the student's mind, a network binding together things seemingly as irrelevant to one another as down-draught carburettors and the education of children in New Mexico, aluminium alloys and the slaughter of Abyssinians and Spaniards, viscose fibres and the ruin of peasants in Japan and the Rhône Valley. A similar frame of psychological, sociological and ethical reference could be used, not indeed to replace, but to supplement the frame of scientific reference used in academic education. The technician would integrate his experience and special knowledge in human terms only; the intellectual would integrate in terms of the non-human material universe as well as of the human world. Both educations would thus be made genuinely liberal—liberal in the academic sense, because even the technical student would be given a wide range of knowledge and a principle of integration; liberal also in the political sense, because it would be hard indeed to receive such an education and not emerge with a wider range of sympathy, a keener desire to act.

It would be impossible, in the space at my disposal, to give an account of all the hopeful experiments in education undertaken in recent years. The most I can do is to mention a few of the more outstanding essays in the liberalization of our existing system. Of Dr. Montessori's work for young children and of the reasons why we have hesitated to apply her methods to the teaching of adolescents, I have already spoken. It is true, as Mr. Russell points out in the passage I have quoted above, that, in the democratic countries, our hesitation has not amounted to a complete refusal to apply the Montessori principles. But the applications have been

ENDS AND MEANS

partial and have almost always been made in an intrinsically un-Montessorian context. Consider, by way of example, the English Public Schools. Within a fixed framework, their pupils are in a measure self-governing. Unhappily the rules, customs and loyalties which constitute the supporting framework are the rules, customs and loyalties of a hierarchical, competitive, imperialistic society. Such training in self-government and self-teaching as the young people receive serves merely to make them more efficient and enterprising members of this intrinsically undesirable society. Something similar takes place in an army preparing for war in modern conditions. The old-fashioned drill, by means of which soldiers were conditioned to overcome fear, cultivate rage and blindly obey their superiors, is an inadequate training for men who are to fight with modern weapons. The mechanization of war has made necessary a new kind of training. The soldier has to be educated to co-operate with small groups of his fellows, to make quick decisions, to use his judgment. Tennyson's advice to soldiers was good enough in the eighteen-fifties. But for the crew of a tank or a motorized machine-gun unit, doing and dying is not sufficient; they are also required to reason why. Within the framework of the rules, customs and loyalties of militarism, soldiers are taught to use their intelligence and act upon their own initiative. To this extent Montessori principles have been adopted even in the army. But, under the present dispensation, the partially self-governing and self-teaching soldier is not being trained for freedom and justice any more than is his younger brother, the partially self-governing and self-teaching schoolboy.

A particularly hopeful attempt to enlarge the scope and humanize the character of academic education was made, in the years immediately following the War, by Dr. A. E. Morgan (subsequently director of the Tennessee Valley

EDUCATION

Authority) at Antioch College. Under the educational dispensation developed by Dr. Morgan, periods of study, as has been noted earlier, are alternated with periods of labour in the factory, the office, the farm—even the prison and the asylum. Three months of theory are supplemented and illustrated by three months of practice. The intellectual is taught to make use of a frame of human reference as well as a frame of natural-scientific and historical reference—and taught, what is more, in the most effective of all possible ways, in terms of physical contact with actual samples of human reality. His principle of integration is not merely cognitive; thanks to an educational system which compels him to take part in many different kinds of practical work, it is also conative and affective.¹

A system of education somewhat similar to that developed at Antioch is used in the schools attached to factories in Soviet Russia. All such systems are but the modern extensions and systematizations of the traditional Hebrew system of education. 'He who does not teach his son a trade,' so it is written in the Talmud, 'virtually teaches him to steal.' St. Paul was not only a scholar; he was also a tent-maker. The ideal of the scholar and the gentleman originated among the slave-owning philosophers of Athens and Ionia. It is one of the ironies of history that the modern world should have taken over from the Hebrews all that was worst in their cultural heritage—their ferocious Bronze-Age literature; their paeans in praise of war; their tales of divinely inspired slaughter and sanctified treachery; their primitive belief in a personal, despotic and passionately unscrupulous God; their low, Samuel-Smilesian notion that virtue deserves a reward in cash and social position. It is, I repeat, one of the ironies of history that we should

¹ Note in this context the use of 'occupational therapy' in mental disease. There are certain forms of mental disease for which hand-work is the best cure.

ENDS AND MEANS

have taken over all this and have rejected the admirably sensible rabbinical tradition of an all-round education, at once academic and technical, in favour of the narrow and immoral ideal of the Hellenic slavers.

To perfect the Antioch system, it would probably be necessary to extend its provisions from the student to the teaching body. The fossil professor is a familiar object to those who have rambled through university towns. The onset of petrification might be delayed if teachers were given periodically, not merely sabbatical, but also non-sabbatical years—years during which they would have to work at some job entirely unconnected with the academic world.

A good deal of attention has been paid in recent years to the education of the emotions through the arts. In many schools and colleges, music, 'dramatics,' poetry and the visual arts are used more or less systematically as a device for widening consciousness and imparting to the flow of emotion a desirable direction.

Music, for example, may be used to teach a number of valuable lessons. When they listen to a piece of good music, people of limited ability are given the opportunity of actually experiencing the thought- and feeling-processes of a man of outstanding intellectual power and exceptional insight. (This applies, of course, to all the arts; but there is reason to believe that more people are able to participate, and participate more intensely, in the experience of the music-maker than in that of the painter, say, or the architect, or perhaps even the imaginative writer.) The finest works of art are precious, among other reasons, because they make it possible for us to know, if only imperfectly and for a little while, what it actually feels like to think subtly and feel nobly.

Music also serves to teach a very valuable kind of emotional co-operation. Singing and playing instruments

EDUCATION

together, people learn, not only to perform complicated actions requiring great muscular skill and the mind's entire attention, but also to feel in harmony, to be united in a shared emotion.

Coming next to literature, we see that the acting of plays can also be used for the purpose of emotional training. By playing the part of a character who is either very like or very unlike himself, a person can be made aware of his own nature and of his relations with others. To some extent, it may be, the watching of plays can serve the same purpose. We must, however, be on our guard against attributing to drama educative virtues which, at any rate in its present form, it certainly does not possess. In relation to the modern play or film, it is sheer nonsense to talk about the Aristotelian catharsis. A Greek tragedy was much more than a play; it was also a cathedral service, it was also one of the ceremonies of the national religion. The performance was an illustration of the scriptures, an exposition of theology. Modern dramas, even the best of them, are none of these things. They are, essentially, secular. People go to them, not in order to be reminded of their philosophy of life, not to establish some kind of communion with their gods, but merely to 'get a kick,' merely to titillate their feelings. *The habit of self-titillation grows with what it feeds upon. For the Greeks, dramatic festivals were 'solemn and rare.' For us they are an almost daily stimulant. Abused as we abuse it at present, dramatic art is in no sense cathartic; it is merely a form of emotional masturbation. All arts can be used as a form of self-abuse; but masturbation through the drama is probably the worst form of artistic debauchery, and for this reason: acting is one of the most dangerous of trades. It is the rarest thing to find a player who has not had his character affected for the worse by the practice of his profession. Nobody can make a habit of self-exhibition, nobody can exploit his*

ENDS AND MEANS

personality for the sake of exercising a kind of hypnotic power over others, and remain untouched by the process. (In the Oneida community it was found that 'prima donna fever,' as John Noyes called it, could produce disruptive effects of extraordinary magnitude. Noyes, who was a psychologist of genius and the shrewdest of practical moralists, took the greatest pains to prevent a recrudescence of this disease, which has been the ruin of so many actors and virtuosi.¹) Acting inflames the ego in a way which few other professions do. For the sake of enjoying regular emotional self-abuse, our societies condemn a considerable class of men and women to a perpetual inability to achieve non-attachment. It seems a high price to pay for our amusements.

The chief educative virtue of literature consists in its power to provide its readers with examples which they can follow. To some extent, all human beings are, in Jules de Gaultier's phrase, 'bovaristic'—that is to say they have a capacity for seeing themselves as they are not, for playing a part other than that which heredity and circumstances seem to have assigned to them. The heroine of Flaubert's novel came to a tragic end; but there is no reason why all bovaristic behaviour should turn out so disastrously as it did in the case of the original Mme Bovary. There is good bovarism as well as bad bovarism. Educationists have always known this fact and, from time immemorial, have tried to mould the character of their pupils by providing them with literary models to be imitated in real life. Such models may be mythical, historical or fictional. Hercules and Thor are instances of the first kind of heroic model; Plutarch's statesmen and soldiers and the saints of the Christian calendar are instances of the historical model; Hamlet and Werther, Julien Sorel

¹ See *A Yankee Saint* (the latest and best biography of Noyes), by Robert Allerton Parker (New York, 1935).

EDUCATION

and Alyosha Karamazov, Juliet and Lady Chatterley are instance of fictional heroes and heroines upon whom, at one time or another, great numbers of human beings have patterned themselves. In all cases, whether mythical, historical or fictional, some measure of literary art is necessary; if the story is told inadequately, the pupil will remain unimpressed, will feel no desire to imitate the model set before him. Hence the importance, even in ethical instruction, of good art. Moreover, every generation must produce its stock of imitable models, described in terms of an art which is not merely good, but also up-to-date. Old good art can never have the same appeal as new good art; for most people, indeed, it cannot rival with new bad art. More people bovarize themselves upon the models provided by the pulp magazines than upon those provided by Shakespeare. There are two reasons for this. The first is that, though crude and incompetent, the pulp magazines deal with contemporary characters, while Shakespeare, though incomparable in his power to 'put things across,' is more than three hundred years out of date; the second must be sought in the fact that the moral effort required to imitate Shakespeare's heroes, and even his villains, is far greater than that which is needed to imitate the personages of pulp-magazine fiction. Pulp-magazine stories are transcriptions of the commonest and easiest day-dreams—dreams of sexual titillation, of financial success, of luxury, of social recognition. Shakespeare's personages are on a larger scale. They embody the hardly realizable, extravagant day-dreams of paranoiacs—of men who dream of being lovers uniquely faithful, proud saviours of their country uniquely disinterested and uniquely adored, villains uniquely vengeful and malignant. In this context it is worth remarking that except for the Duke in *Measure for Measure*—and he is scarcely a human being, only a symbol—Shakespeare gives no picture of a non-attached human

ENDS AND MEANS

being. Indeed, good pictures of non-attached men and women are singularly rare in the world's literature. The good people in plays and novels are rarely complete, fully adult personages. They are either a bit deficient, like Dostoevsky's epileptic Prince Mishkin, like Gorki's virtuous but imbecile hermit, or Dickens's charitable but utterly infantile Cheerybles, or else, like Pickwick, they are made lovable by being represented as eccentric to the point of absurdity; we can tolerate their superiority in virtue because we feel superior in common sense. Finally and most frequently they are shown as being good without being intelligent, like Colonel Newcome, or the peasant who talks to Tolstoy's Pierre in prison. These individuals are personally good within an abominably bad system which they do not even question. Men who are profoundly good without being intelligent have often attained to sainthood. The Curé d'Ars and St. Peter Claver are cases in point. One must admire such men for the, by ordinary standards, superhuman qualities of character which they display. At the same time, it is, I think, necessary to admit that they are not complete, not fully adult. Perfect non-attachment demands of those who aspire to it, not only compassion and charity, but also the intelligence that perceives the general implications of particular acts, that sees the individual being within the system of social and cosmic relations of which he is but a part. In this respect, it seems to me, Buddhism shows itself decidedly superior to Christianity. In the Buddhist ethic stupidity, or unawareness, ranks as one of the principal sins. At the same time people are warned that they must take their share of responsibility for the social order in which they find themselves. One of the branches of the Eightfold Path is said to be 'right means of livelihood.' The Buddhist is expected to refrain from engaging in such socially harmful occupations as soldiering, or the manufacture of arms and

EDUCATION

intoxicating drugs. Christian moralists make the enormous mistake of not insisting upon right means of livelihood. The church allows people to believe that they can be good Christians and yet draw dividends from armament factories, can be good Christians and yet imperil the well-being of their fellows by speculating in stocks and shares, can be good Christians and yet be imperialists, yet participate in war. All that is required of the good Christian is chastity and a modicum of charity in immediate personal relations. An intelligent understanding and appraisal of the long-range consequences of acts is not insisted upon by Christian moralists.¹ One of the results of this doctrinal inadequacy is that there is a singular lack, as well in imaginative as in biographical literature, of intelligently virtuous, adultly non-attached personages, upon whom young people may model their behaviour. This is a deplorable state of things. Literary example is a powerful instrument for the moulding of character. But most of our literary examples, as we have seen, are mere idealizations of the average sensual man. Of the more heroic characters the majority are just grandiosely paranoiac; the others are good, but good incompletely and without intelligence; are virtuous within a bad system which they fail to see the need of changing; combine a measure of non-attachment in personal matters with loyalty to some creed, such as Fascism or Communism or Nationalism, that entails, if acted upon, the commission of every kind of crime. There is a great need for literary artists as the educators of a new type of human being. Unfortunately most literary artists are human beings of the old type. They have been educated in such a way that, even when they are revolutionaries, they think in terms of the values accepted by the essentially militaristic

¹ In the Middle Ages the Church made a serious effort to moralize economic activity. The attempt, as Tawney has shown in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, was abandoned after the Reformation.

ENDS AND MEANS

society of which they are members. *Quis custodiet custodes?* Who will educate the educators? The answer, of course, is painfully simple: nobody but the educators themselves. Our human world is composed of an endless series of vicious circles, from which it is possible to escape only by an act, or rather a succession of acts, of intelligently directed will.

Dictatorial governments regard free intelligence as their worst enemy. In this they are probably perfectly right. Tyranny cannot exist unless there is passive obedience on the part of the tyrannized. But passive obedience to authority is not compatible with the free exercise of intelligence. It is for this reason that all tyrants try so hard either to suppress intelligence altogether or to compel it to exercise itself only within certain prescribed limits and along certain channels carved out for it in advance. Hence the systematic use which all dictators make of the instrument of propaganda.

In societies more primitive than our own, societies in which a traditional religion and a traditional code of morality are unquestioningly accepted, there is no need of deliberate propaganda. People behave in the traditional way 'by instinct,' and never stop dispassionately to consider what they are doing, feeling, thinking. Even in societies like ours there is an astonishing amount of unquestioning acceptance of customary behaviour-patterns, thought-patterns, feeling-patterns. A very large number even of intelligent men and women use their intelligence only for the purpose of making a good job of what is traditionally regarded as their duty; they seldom or never use it to pass judgment upon the duty itself. Hence the dismal spectacle of scientists and technicians using all their powers to help their country's rulers to commit mass murder with increased efficiency and indiscriminateness; of scholars and men of letters prostituting their talents for the purpose of bolstering national prestige with learned lies

EDUCATION

and fascinating rhetoric. Even in the democratic countries, intelligence is generally used only to create (in Thoreau's words) improved means to unimproved ends—to ends that are dictated by socially sanctioned prejudice and the lowest passions. Such, I repeat, is generally the case; but fortunately not always. Where intelligence is permitted to exercise itself freely, there will always be a few people prepared to use their wits for the purpose of judging traditional ends as well as for devising effective means to those ends. It is thanks to such individuals that the very idea of desirable change is able to come into existence.

For the dictator such questioning free intelligences are exceedingly dangerous; for it is essential, if he is to preserve his position, that the socially sanctioned prejudices should not be questioned and that men should use their wits solely for the purpose of finding more effective means to achieve those ends which are compatible with dictatorship. Hence the persecution of daring individuals, the muzzling of the press, and the systematic attempt by means of propaganda to create a public opinion favourable to tyranny. In the dictatorial countries the individual is subjected to propaganda, as to military training, almost from infancy. All his education is propagandist and, when he leaves school, he is exposed to the influence of a controlled press, a controlled cinema, a controlled literature, a controlled radio. Within a few years controlled television and possibly a controlled teletype service functioning in every home will have to be added to this list of weapons in the dictator's armoury. Nor is this all; it is likely enough that pharmacology will be called in as an ally of applied psychology. There are drugs, such as a mixture of scopolamine and chloral, that enormously increase the individual's suggestibility. It is more than likely that dictators will soon be making use of such sub-

ENDS AND MEANS

stances in order to heighten their subjects' loyalty and blind faith.

In the democratic countries, intelligence is still free to ask whatever questions it chooses. This freedom, it is almost certain, will not survive another war. Educationists should therefore do all they can, while there is yet time, to build up in the minds of their charges a habit of resistance to suggestion. If such resistance is not built up, the men and women of the next generation will be at the mercy of any skilful propagandist who contrives to seize the instruments of information and persuasion. Resistance to suggestion can be built up in two ways. First, children can be taught to rely on their own internal resources and not to depend on incessant stimulation from without. This is doubly important. Reliance on external stimulation is bad for the character. Moreover, such stimulation is the stuff with which propagandists bait their hooks, the jam in which dictators conceal their ideological pills. An individual who relies on external stimulations thereby exposes himself to the full force of whatever propaganda is being made in his neighbourhood. For a majority of people in the West, purposeless reading, purposeless listening-in, purposeless looking at films have become addictions, psychological equivalents of alcoholism and morphinism. Things have come to such a pitch that there are many millions of men and women who suffer real distress if they are cut off for a few days or even a few hours from newspapers, radio music, moving pictures. Like the addict to a drug, they have to indulge their vice, not because the indulgence gives them any active pleasure, but because, unless they indulge, they feel painfully sub-normal and incomplete. Without papers, films and wireless they live a diminished existence; they are fully themselves only when bathing in sports news and murder trials, in radio music and talk, in the vicarious terrors, triumphs and

EDUCATION

eroticisms of the films. Even by intelligent people, it is now taken for granted that such psychological addictions are inevitable and even desirable, that there is nothing to be alarmed at in the fact that the majority of civilized men and women are now incapable of living on their own spiritual resources, but have become abjectly dependent on incessant stimulation from without. Recently, for example, I read a little book in which an eminent American biologist gives his view about the Future. Science, he prophesies, will enormously increase human happiness and intelligence—will do so, among other ways, by providing people with micro-cinematographs which they can slip on like spectacles whenever they are bored. Science will also, no doubt, be able very soon to supply us with micro-pocket-flasks and micro-hypodermic-syringes, micro-alcohol, micro-cigarettes and micro-cocaine. Long live science!

How can children be taught to rely upon their own spiritual resources and resist the temptation to become reading-addicts, hearing-addicts, seeing-addicts? First of all, they can be taught how to entertain themselves—by making things, by playing musical instruments, by purposeful study, by scientific observation, by the practice of some art, and so on. But such education of the hand and the intellect is not enough. Psychology has its Gresham's Law; its bad money drives out the good. Most people tend to perform the actions that require least effort, to think the thoughts that are easiest, to feel the emotions that are most vulgarly commonplace, to give rein to the desires that are most nearly animal. And they will tend to do this even if they possess the knowledge and skill to do otherwise. Along with the necessary knowledge and skill must be given the will to use them, even under the pressure of incessant temptation to take the line of least resistance and become an addict to psychological drugs. Most people will not wish to resist these temptations unless

ENDS AND MEANS

they have a coherent philosophy of life, which makes it reasonable and right for them to do so, and unless they know some technique by means of which they can be sure of giving practical effect to their good intentions.

*Video meliora proboque;
Deteriora sequor.*

To see and approve the better is useless, if one then regularly proceeds to pursue the worse. What is the philosophy of life that should be taught? And what are the proper techniques by means of which people can persuade themselves to act upon their convictions? These are questions which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

So much for the first method of heightening resistance to suggestion. It will be seen that this consists essentially in teaching young people to dispense with the agreeable stimulations offered by the newspapers, wireless and films—stimulations which serve, as I have said, to bait the propagandist's hooks. A boycott of sports news and murder stories, of jazz and variety, of film love, film thrills and film luxury, is simultaneously a boycott of political, economic and ethical propaganda. Hence the vital importance of teaching as many young people as possible how to amuse themselves and at the same time inducing them to wish to amuse themselves.

The other method of heightening resistance to suggestion is purely intellectual and consists in training young people to subject the devices of the propagandists to critical analysis. The first thing that educators must do is to analyse the words currently used in newspapers, on platforms, by preachers and broadcasters. What, for example, does the word 'nation' mean? To what extent are speakers and writers justified in talking of a nation as a person? Who precisely is the 'she,' of whom people speak when discussing a nation's foreign politics? ('Britain is an

EDUCATION

imperial power. She must defend her Empire.') In what sense can a nation be described as having a will or national interests? Are these interests and will the interests and will of the entire population? or of a majority? or of a ruling caste and a few professional politicians? In what way, if any, does 'the state' differ from Messrs. Smith, Brown, Jones and the other gentlemen who happen for the moment to have secured political power? Given the character of Brown, Jones etc., why should 'the state' be regarded as an institution worthy of almost religious respect? Where does national honour reside? Why would the loss of Hong-Kong, for example, be a mortal blow to Britain's honour, while its seizure after a war in which Britain attempted to force the Chinese to buy opium was in no way a stain upon the same honour? And so on. 'Nation' is only one of several dozens of rich and resonant words which are ordinarily accepted without a thought, but which it is essential, if we would think clearly, that we should subject to the most searching analysis.

It is no less important that children should be taught to examine all personifications, all metaphors and all abstractions occurring in the articles they read, the speeches they listen to. They must learn to translate these empty words into terms of concrete contemporary reality. When an Asquith says, 'we shall not sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn,' when an Archbishop of Canterbury affirms 'that force, the sword, is the instrument of God for the protection of the people,' they must learn to translate this noble verbiage into the language of the present. Swords have played no appreciable part in war for the last two hundred years. In 1914 Asquith's sword was high explosives and shrapnel, machine-guns, battleships, submarines. In 1937 the 'instrument of God for the protection of the people' was all the armaments existing in 1914 plus tanks, plus aeroplanes, plus thermite, plus phosgene,

ENDS AND MEANS

plus arsenic smokes, plus Lewisite and many other instruments of murder, more efficient and more indiscriminate than anything known in the past. It is frequently in the interest of the rulers of a country to disguise the true facts of contemporary reality under thick veils of misleading verbiage. It is the business of educators to teach their pupils to translate these picturesque or empty phrases into the language of contemporary reality.

Verbal propaganda is not the only nor even, perhaps, the most effective form of organized suggestion. There is another kind, specially favoured by modern commercial propagandists and used from time immemorial by such non-commercial advertisers as kings, priests and soldiers. This consists in arbitrarily associating the idea which is to be suggested with some object, some image, some sound, some literary description, that is either intrinsically delightful or in some way suggestive of pleasantness. For example, the advertiser of soap will show a picture of a young voluptuous female, about to take a bath among plumbing fixtures of pink marble and chromium. The advertiser of cigarettes will show people dining in what the lady novelists describe as 'faultless evening dress,' or reproduce the photograph of some well-known film star, millionairess, or titled lady. The advertiser of whisky will illustrate a group of handsome men lounging in luscious upholstery and being waited upon by the most obsequious of family retainers. The aim in all such cases is the same—to associate the idea of the goods offered for sale with ideas which the public already regards as delightful, such as the idea of erotic pleasure, the idea of personal charm, the idea of wealth and social superiority. In other cases the idea of the merchandise is associated with intrinsically delightful landscapes, with funny or pathetic children, with flowers or pet animals, with scenes of family life. In countries where radio advertising is permitted, commercial pro-

EDUCATION

pagandists find it worth their while to associate the idea of their cars, their cigarettes, their breakfast cereal or what not with performances by comedians or concerts of vocal or orchestral music. This last is the type of association favoured by kings, soldiers and priests. From the beginning of history, rulers have 'put themselves across' by associating the idea of their government with magnificent pageantry, with impressive architecture, with every kind of rare, splendid and beautiful thing. It is the same with the soldier. Military music intoxicates like wine, and a military review is, in its own way, no less inebriating. (The author of the Song of Songs goes so far as to establish an emotional equivalence between a sexually desirable person and an army with banners.) Priests make use of an essentially similar type of propaganda. Systematically, they have always associated the idea of their god and of themselves as the god's representatives with intrinsically delightful works of art of every kind, from music and architecture to dressmaking, with symbols of wealth and power, with organized joy and organized terror and mystery even, in many religions, with organized cruelty and lust.

Propaganda of this kind generally proves irresistible. Cigarettes are bought in ever-increasing quantities; ever vaster and more loyal crowds flock to military reviews, to royal and dictatorial pageants, to the splendid ceremonials of nationalistic idolatry. Once again resistance to suggestion can be heightened only by sharpening the critical faculty of those concerned. The art of dissociating ideas should have a place in every curriculum. Young people must be trained to consider the problems of government, international politics, religion and the like in isolation from the pleasant images, with which a particular solution of these problems has been associated, more or less deliberately, by those whose interest it is to make the public think, feel and

ENDS AND MEANS

judge in a certain way. The training might begin with a consideration of popular advertising. Children could be shown that there is no necessity and organic connection between the pretty girl in her expensive dressing-gown and the merits of the tooth-paste she is intended to advertise. This lesson might be brought home by practical demonstrations. Chocolates could be wrapped in a paper adorned with realistic pictures of scorpions, and castor-oil and quinine distributed from containers in the form of Sealyham terriers or Shirley Temple. Having mastered the art of dissociation in the field of commercial advertising, our young people could be trained to apply the same critical methods to the equally arbitrary and even more dangerously misleading associations which exist in the fields of politics and religion. They would be shown that it is possible for a man to get the fullest aesthetic enjoyment out of a military or religious pageant without allowing that enjoyment in any way to influence his judgment regarding the value of war as a political instrument or the truth and moral usefulness of the religion in question. They would be taught to consider monarchy and dictatorship on their own political and ethical merits, not on the choreographical merits of processions and court ceremonials, not on the architectural merits of palaces, not on the rhetorical merits of speeches, not on the organizational merits of a certain kind of technical efficiency. And so on.

That the art of dissociation will ever be taught in schools under direct state control is, of course, almost infinitely improbable. Those who use the power of the state always desire to preserve a certain given order of things. They therefore always try to persuade or compel their subjects to accept, as right and reasonable, certain solutions (hardly ever the best) of the outstanding problems of politics and economics. Hence the insistence, on the part of govern-

EDUCATION

ments, that the ideas embodying these solutions shall always be associated with intrinsically pleasing images. The art of dissociation can be taught only by individuals who are not under direct government control. This is one of the reasons why it is so important that state-aided education shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by education in the hands of private persons. Some of this privately organized education will certainly be bad; some will probably exist solely for reasons of snobbery. But a few of the private educators will be genuinely experimental and intelligent; a few will use their blessed independence to make the desirable change which state-controlled teachers are not allowed to initiate. '*Les enfants n'appartiennent qu'à la République.*' So wrote the Marquis de Sade. That such a man should have been so ardent a supporter of exclusive state education is a fact that, in the light of the history of contemporary dictatorships, is highly significant.

Using an arbitrary, but unavoidable, system of classification, I have spoken in turn of education as character-training, education as instruction, education as training of the emotions. It is now necessary to speak of another form of education, a form which must underlie and accompany all the other forms, namely the education of the body.

In the world as we know it, mind and body form a single organic whole. What happens in the mind affects the body; what happens in the body affects the mind. Education must therefore be a process of physical as well as mental training.

Of what nature should this physical training be? The question cannot be properly answered except in terms of our first principles. We are agreed that the ideal human being is 'one who is non-attached. Accordingly all education, including physical education, must ultimately

ENDS AND MEANS

aim at producing non-attachment. If we would discover which is the best form of physical training, we must begin by setting forth the physical conditions of non-attachment.

First of all, it is pretty clear that non-attachment is very hardly realizable by anyone whose body is seriously maladjusted. A maladjusted body affects the mind in several ways. When the maladjustment is very great, the body is subject to pain and discomfort. Pain and discomfort invade the field of consciousness, with the result that the owner of the body finds great difficulty in not identifying himself with his faulty physical processes. From a being who is potentially more than what is conventionally styled a 'person,' he is reduced by pain and discomfort to a being who is less than a person. He comes to be equated with one of the body's badly functioning organs.

In other cases pain and discomfort may not be present; but the maladjusted body may be subject, without its owner being aware of the fact, to chronic strains and stresses. What happens in the body affects the mind. Physical strains set up psychological strains. The body is the instrument used by the mind to establish contact with the outside world. Any modification of this instrument must correspondingly modify the mind's relations with external reality. Where the body is maladjusted and under strain, the mind's relations, sensory, emotional, intellectual, conative, with external reality are likely to be unsatisfactory. And the same would seem to be true of the mind's relations with what may be called internal reality—with that more-than-self which, if we choose, we can discover within us and which the mystics have identified with God, the Law, the Light, the integrating principle of the world. All the Eastern mystics are insistent on the necessity of bodily health. A sick man cannot attain enlightenment. They

EDUCATION

further point out that it is very difficult for a man to acquire the art of contemplation unless he observes certain rules of diet and adopts certain bodily postures. Similar observations have been made by Christian mystics in the West. For example, the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* insists, in a very striking and curious passage which I shall quote in a later chapter, that enlightenment, or mystical union with God, is unattainable by those who are physically uncontrolled to the extent of fidgeting, nervously laughing, making odd gestures and grimaces. Such tics and compulsions (it is a matter of observation) are almost invariably associated with physical maladjustment and strain. Where they exist, the highest forms of non-attachment are unachievable. It follows therefore that the ideal system of physical education must be one which relieves people of maladjustment and strain.

Another condition of non-attachment is awareness. Unawareness is one of the main sources of attachment or evil. 'Forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Those who know not what they do are indeed in need of forgiveness; for they are responsible for an immense amount of suffering. Yet more urgent than their need to be forgiven is their need to know. For if they knew, it may be that they would not perform those stupid and criminal acts whose ineluctable consequences no amount of human or divine forgiveness can prevent. A good physical education should teach awareness on the physical plane—not the obsessive and unwished-for awareness that pain imposes upon the mind, but voluntary and intentional awareness. The body must be trained to think. True, this happens every time we learn a manual skill; our bodies think when we draw, or play golf, or take a piano lesson. But all such thinking is specialist thinking. What we need is an education for our bodies that shall be, on the bodily plane, liberal and not merely technical and

ENDS AND MEANS

narrowly specific. The awareness that our bodies need is the knowledge of some general principle of right integration, and along with it, a knowledge of the proper way to apply that principle in every phase of physical activity.

There can be no non-attachment without inhibition. When the state of non-attachment has become 'a second nature,' inhibition will doubtless no longer be necessary; for impulses requiring inhibition will not arise. Those in whom non-attachment is a permanent state are few. For everyone else, such impulses requiring inhibition arise with a distressing frequency. The technique of inhibition needs to be learnt on all the planes of our being. On the intellectual plane—for we cannot hope to think intelligently or to practise the simplest form of 'recollection' unless we learn to inhibit irrelevant thoughts. On the emotional plane—for we shall never reach even the lowest degree of non-attachment unless we can check as they arise the constant movements of malice and vanity, of lust and sloth, of avarice, anger and fear. On the physical plane—for if we are maladjusted (as most of us are in the circumstances of modern urban life), we cannot expect to achieve integration unless we inhibit our tendency to perform actions in the, to us, familiar, maladjusted way. Mind and body are organically one; and it is therefore inherently likely that, if we can learn the art of conscious inhibition on the physical level, it will help us to acquire and practise the same art on the emotional and intellectual levels. What is needed is a practical morality working at every level from the bodily to the intellectual. A good physical education will be one which supplies the body with just such a practical morality. It will be a curative morality, a morality of inhibitions and conscious control, and at the same time, by promoting health and proper physical integration, it will be a system of what I have called preventive ethics,

EDUCATION

forestalling many kinds of trouble by never giving them the opportunity to arise.

So far as I am aware, the only system of physical education which fulfils all these conditions is the system developed by F. M. Alexander. Mr. Alexander has given a full account of his system in three books, each of which is prefaced by Professor John Dewey.¹ It is therefore unnecessary for me to describe it here—all the more so as no verbal description can do justice to a technique which involves the changing, by a long process of instruction on the part of the teacher and of active co-operation on that of the pupil, of an individual's sensory experiences. One cannot describe the experience of seeing the colour, red. Similarly one cannot describe the much more complex experience of improved physical co-ordination. A verbal description would mean something only to a person who had actually had the experience described; to the mal-co-ordinated person, the same words would mean something quite different. Inevitably, he would interpret them in terms of his own sensory experiences, which are those of a mal-co-ordinated person. Complete understanding of the system can come only with the practice of it. All I need say in this place is that I am sure, as a matter of personal experience and observation, that it gives us all the things we have been looking for in a system of physical education: relief from strain due to maladjustment, and consequent improvement in physical and mental health; increased consciousness of the physical means employed to gain the ends proposed by the will and, along with this, a general heightening of consciousness on all levels; a technique of inhibition, working on the physical level to prevent the body from slipping back, under the influence of greedy 'end-gaining,' into its old habits of mal-

¹ *Man's Supreme Inheritance*, *Creative Conscious Control*, and *The Use of the Self*.

ENDS AND MEANS

co-ordination, and working (by a kind of organic analogy) to inhibit undesirable impulses and irrelevance on the emotional and intellectual levels respectively. We cannot ask more from any system of physical education; nor, if we seriously desire to alter human beings in a desirable direction, can we ask any less.

Chapter XIII

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

RELIGION is, among many other things, a system of education, by means of which human beings may train themselves, first, to make desirable changes in their own personalities and, at one remove, in society, and, in the second place, to heighten consciousness and so establish more adequate relations between themselves and the universe of which they are parts.

Religion is this, I repeat, among many other things. For, alas, by no means all the doctrines and practices of the existing religions are calculated to ameliorate character or heighten consciousness. On the contrary, a great deal of what is sought and done in the name of even the most highly evolved religions is definitely pernicious, and a great deal more is ethically neutral—not particularly bad, but, on the other hand, not particularly good. Towards the kind of religion whose fruits are moral evil and a darkening of the mind the rational idealist can only show an uncompromising hostility. Such things as persecution and the suppression or distortion of truth are intrinsically wrong, and he can have nothing to do with religious organizations which countenance such iniquities.

His attitude towards the ethically neutral customs, rites and ceremonies of organized religion will be determined exclusively by the nature of their effects. If such things help to maintain a satisfactory social pattern, if they serve to facilitate and enrich the relations between man and man, between group and group, then he will accord them a

ENDS AND MEANS

certain qualified favour. True, he may recognize very clearly that such practices do not help men to attain to the highest forms of human development, but are actually impediments in the path. The Buddha put down ritualism as one of the Ten Fetters which bind men to illusion and prevent them from attaining enlightenment. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that most individuals will certainly not wish to attain enlightenment—in other words, develop themselves to the limits of human capacity—there may be something to be said in favour of ritualism. Attachment to traditional ceremonials and belief in the magical efficacy of ritual may prevent men from attaining to enlightenment; but, on the other hand, they may help such individuals as have neither the desire nor the capacity for enlightenment to behave a little better than they otherwise would have done.

It is impossible to discuss the value of rites and symbolic ceremonials without reopening a question already touched upon in the chapters on Inequality and Education: the question of psychological types and degree of mental development. Significantly enough, most of the historical founders of religions and a majority of religious philosophers have been in agreement upon this matter. They have divided human beings into a minority of individuals, capable of making the efforts required to 'attain enlightenment,' and a great majority incapable of making such efforts. This conception is fundamental in Hinduism, Buddhism and, in general, all Indian philosophy. It is implicit in the teaching of Lao Tsu, and again in that of the Stoics. Jesus of Nazareth taught that 'many are called, but few are chosen' and that there were certain people who constituted 'the salt of the earth' and who were therefore able to preserve the world, to prevent it from decaying. The Gnostic sects believed in the existence of esoteric and exoteric teaching, the latter reserved for

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

the many, the former for the few who were capable of profiting by them. The Catholic Church exterminated the Gnostics, but proceeded to organize itself as though the Gnostic belief in esoteric and exoteric teachings were true.¹ For the vulgar it provided ceremonial, magically compulsive formulas, the worship of images, a calendar of holy days. To the few it taught, through the mouth of the mystics, that such external 'aids to devotion' were (as Buddha had pointed out many centuries before) strong fetters holding men back from enlightenment or, in Christian phraseology, from communion with God. In practice, Christianity, like Hinduism or Buddhism, is not one religion, but several religions, adapted to the needs of different types of human beings. A Christian church in Southern Spain, or Mexico, or Sicily, is singularly like a Hindu temple. The eye is delighted by the same gaudy colours, the same tripe-like decorations, the same gesticulating statues; the nose inhales the same intoxicating smells; the ear and, along with it, the understanding, are lulled by the drone of the same incomprehensible incantations, roused by the same loud, impressive music. At the other end of the scale, consider the chapel of a Cistercian monastery and the meditation hall of a community of Zen Buddhists. They are equally bare; aids to devotion (in other words, fetters holding back the soul from enlightenment) are conspicuously absent from either building. Here are two distinct religions for two distinct kinds of human beings.

The history of ideas is to a great extent the history of the misinterpretation of ideas. An outstanding individual makes a record of his life or formulates, in the light of his personal experience, a theory about the nature of the world. Other individuals, not possessing his natural

¹ One of the charges levelled by the Inquisition against Eckhart was that he had spoken openly to the people of holy mysteries.

ENDS AND MEANS

endowments, read what he has written, and, because their psychological make-up is different from that of the author, fail to understand what he means. They re-interpret his words in the light of their own experience, their own knowledge, their own prejudices. Consequently, they learn from their teacher, not to be like him, but to be more themselves. Misunderstood, his words serve to justify *their* desires, rationalize *their* beliefs. Not all of the magic, the liturgy, the ritual existing in the historical religions is a survival from a more primitive age. A good part of it, it is probable, is relatively new—the product of misunderstanding. Mystical writers recording psychological experiences in symbolical language were often supposed by the non-mystics to be talking about alchemy or magic rites. Episodes in the inner life were projected, in a strangely distorted form, into the outer world, where they helped to swell the majestic stream of primitive superstition. There is a danger that the present widespread interest in oriental psychology and philosophy may lead, through misunderstanding, to a recrudescence of the grossest forms of superstition.

To what extent can rites and formularies, symbolic acts and objects be made use of in modern times? The question has been asked at frequent intervals ever since organized Christianity began to lose its hold upon the West. Attempts have been made to fabricate synthetic rituals without much success. The French Revolutionary cult of Reason and the Supreme Being died with the Thermidorian reaction. Comte's religion of Humanity—'Catholicism without Christianity,' as T. H. Huxley called it—never took root. Even the rituals and ceremonies devised from time to time by successful Christian revivalists seldom outlive their authors or spread beyond the buildings in which they were originally practised.

On the other hand, new rituals and ceremonials have

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

sprung up in connection with the cults of nationalism and socialism—have sprung up and continued to flourish over a long period of years.

Considering these instances, let us risk a few generalizations. Ritual and ceremonial will arise almost spontaneously wherever masses of people are gathered together for the purpose of taking part in any activity in which they are emotionally concerned. Such rites and ceremonials will survive and develop for just so long as the emotional concern is felt. It is impossible to persuade people who are not emotionally concerned in any given idea, or person, to make a habit of performing rites and ceremonies in connection with that idea or person. To create a ritual, as Comte did, in the hope that it will create a religious emotion, is to put the cart before the horse. Where the emotional concern exists, ritual will serve to strengthen it, even to revive it when enthusiasm grows weary; but it cannot create emotion. (To be more accurate, it cannot create a lasting sentiment. A ceremony well performed is a work of art from which even the sceptical spectator may 'get a kick.' But one can be deeply moved by *Macbeth* without being converted to a permanent belief in witchcraft—can be stirred by a Papal Mass or a review of Brownshirts without feeling impelled to become a Catholic or a Nazi.)

At the present time and in the industrialized West, there is not very much to be said in favour of the rites, customs and ceremonies of traditional Christianity. There is not much to be said for them, for the simple reason that they are demonstrably very ineffective. They do absolutely nothing to hold together the social pattern of Christendom, and they have proved themselves incapable of standing up to the competition of the new rites and ceremonies of nationalistic idolatry. Men are much more German or imperialistically British than Protestant, much more French

ENDS AND MEANS

or Fascist than Catholic. In the past, the fetters of Christian ritualism may have held people back from enlightenment; but these fetters did at least serve as strong ties binding individuals to the body of Christian society. To-day they have, to a great extent, outlived this social function. Indeed, it would be almost true to say that preoccupation with traditional religious rites and ceremonies is something which actually separates people from the society in the midst of which they live. There are only too many men and women who think that, if they have scrupulously repeated the prescribed phrases, made the proper gestures and observed the traditional taboos, they are excused from bothering about anything else. For these people, the performance of traditional custom has become a substitute for moral effort and intelligence. They fly from the problems of real life into symbolical ceremonial; they neglect their duties towards themselves, their neighbours and their God in order to give idolatrous worship to some traditionally hallowed object, to play liturgical charades or go through some piece of ancient mummary. Let me cite a recent example of this. In the early autumn of 1936 the London *Times* recorded the fact that, in deference to religious sentiment, flying-boats were henceforward not to be allowed to come down on the Sea of Galilee. This is a characteristic instance of the way in which preoccupation with sacred objects acts as a fetter holding men back, not only from personal enlightenment, but even from a rational consideration of the facts of contemporary reality. Here is a 'religious sentiment' which feels itself deeply offended if flying machines settle on a certain hallowed sheet of water, but which (to judge by the published utterances of Anglican deans and bishops) does not find anything specially shocking in the thought that these same flying machines may be used to drop fire, poison and high-explosives upon the inhabitants of unfortified towns. If

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

this is religion, then God deliver us from such criminal imbecility.

For the rational idealist, what is the moral of the preceding paragraphs, what the practical lesson to be drawn from a consideration of the nature of religious rites and ceremonies? He will conclude, first of all, that, ritualism being a fetter to which a great many human beings are firmly attached, it is useless to try to get rid of it. Next, observing that rites and ceremonies may be used, like any other instrument, for evil purposes no less effectively than for good, he will do all in his power to encourage their use for good purposes and, whether by argument, persuasion or satire, to prevent them from being used to further causes that are evil. Finally, taking warning from the failures of the past, he will not waste his time in fabricating new ceremonials for any movement in which its participants are not already emotionally concerned.

So much for the positively mischievous and the ethically neutral aspects of religion. Let us now consider those elements in religious practice and belief which have a positive value.

All systems of classification tend in some measure to distort reality; but it is impossible to think clearly about reality unless we make use of some classificatory system. At the risk, then, of over-simplifying the facts, I shall classify the varieties of religious practice and religious belief under a number of separate heads.

The present chapter treats solely of existing religious practices (not of beliefs), and treats them predominantly from a humanistic point of view. From the humanistic point of view, religious practices are valuable in so far as they provide methods of self-education, methods which men can use to transform their characters and enlarge their consciousness.

The methods of which we know the least in the con-

ENDS AND MEANS

temporary West are those which I will call the physiological methods. These physiological methods may be classified under a few main headings, as follows.

Most savage peoples and even certain devotees of the higher religions make use of repeated rhythmical movement as a method of inducing unusual states of mind. This rhythmic movement may take almost any form, from the solitary back-and-forward pacing of the Catholic priest reading his breviary, to the elaborate ritual dances of primitives all over the world. The repetition of rhythmical movement seems to have much the same effects as the repetition of verbal formulas or phrases of music: It lulls to rest the superficial part of the consciousness and leaves the deeper mind free either to concentrate on ultimate reality (as in the case of the solitary priest, pacing up and down with his breviary), or to experience a profound sense of solidarity with other human beings and with the presiding divinity (as happens in the case of ritual dancers). Christianity, it would seem, made a great mistake when it allowed the dance to become completely secularized. For men and women of somatotonic type, ritual dances provide a religious experience that seems more satisfying and convincing than any other.

Another physiological method is that of asceticism. Fasting, sleeplessness, discomfort and self-inflicted pain have been used by devotees of every religion as methods, not only of atoning for sin, but also of schooling the will and modifying the ordinary, everyday consciousness.

This last is also the aim of those Indian ascetics who train their bodies systematically, until they are able to exercise conscious control over physiological processes that are normally carried out unconsciously. In many cases they go on to produce unusual mental states by the systematic and profound modification of certain bodily functions, such as respiration and the sexual act.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

There is good evidence to show that such practices may produce very valuable results. It is possible for a man who employs the methods of mortification or of Yoga to achieve a high degree of non-attachment to 'the things of this world' and at the same time so to heighten his consciousness that he can attach himself more completely than the normal man to that which is greater than himself, to the integrating principle of all being. It is possible, I repeat; but it is not easy. All those who know anything about the methods of mortification and of Yoga, whether as observers or by personal experience, agree that they are dangerous methods. To begin with, they are physiologically dangerous; many bodies break down under the strain imposed upon them. But this is not all; there is also a moral danger. Of those who undertake such methods, only a few are ready to do so for the right reason. Ascetics easily degenerate into record-breakers. There is little to choose between Simeon the Stylite and modern American pole-sitters, or between a fakir on his bed of nails and the self-tormenting competitors in a dancing Marathon. Vanity and the craving for pre-eminence, for distinction, for public recognition figure only too frequently among the motives of the ascetics. Moreover, in all but the most highly trained individuals, physical pain tends to heighten, rather than allay, the normal preoccupation with the body. A man in pain has the greatest difficulty in not identifying himself with the afflicted organ. (The same, of course, is equally true of a man experiencing intense pleasure.) A few ascetics may be able so to school their minds that they can ignore their pain and identify themselves with that which is more than the pain and more than the totality of their personal being. Many, on the contrary, will end up as diminished beings, identified with their pain and with their pride in being able to stand so much of it.

ENDS AND MEANS

The danger inherent in the practice of methods of conscious physiological control is of a somewhat different kind. The methods of Hatha Yoga, as they are called in India, are said to result in heightened mental and physical powers. (Arthur Avalon gives much interesting information on this subject in his *Kundalini*.¹) It is for the sake solely of enjoying these powers, and not in order to use them as a means to 'enlightenment,' that many adepts of Hatha Yoga undertake their training. Pride and sensuality are their motives, and the heightened ability to dominate and to enjoy are their rewards. Such people emerge from their training, possessed, indeed, of heightened powers, but of heightened powers that are the instruments of a character that has grown worse instead of better.

Acting, as he must, on the principle that the tree is known by its fruits, the rational idealist will avoid all methods of religious self-education involving extreme asceticism or the profound modification of physiological functions—will go on avoiding them until such time as increased scientific knowledge permits of their being used more safely than is possible at present. Meanwhile, of course, he will not neglect any system of training which promises to increase, without danger, the individual's conscious control of his organism. (This matter has been discussed in some detail at the end of the chapter on Education.)

The second method of self-education taught by the various religions consists essentially in the cultivation of an intimate emotional relationship between the worshipper and a personal God or other divine being. This emotional method is the one of which the West knows most; for it is the method used by the majority of Christians. In India it is known as *bhakti-marga*, the path of devotional faith, as opposed to *karma-marga*, the path of duty or works,

¹ See also Dr. K. Behanan's *Yoga* (New York, 1937).

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

and *jñāna-marga*, the path of knowledge. *Bhakti-marga* played a relatively small part in Indian religion—at any rate in the religion of the educated classes—until the coming of the Bhagavata reformation of the Middle Ages. Revolt against the pantheism of the Vedānta and the atheism of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and of Buddhism, the leaders of the Bhagavata reformation insisted on the personal nature of God and the eternally personal existence of individual souls. (There is reason to believe that Christian influences were at work on the reformers.) A kind of *bhakti-marga* crept into Buddhism with the rise of the Greater Vehicle. In this case, however, theologians were careful to insist that the objects of Bhakti, the Buddhas, were not eternal gods and that the ultimate reality, substantial to the world, was impersonal.

I have said that for people of predominantly somatotonic type, rituals involving rhythmical movement provide a particularly satisfying form of religious experience. It is with their muscles that they most easily obtain knowledge of the divine. Similarly, in people of viscerotonic habit religious experience tends naturally to take an emotional form. But it is difficult to have an emotional relation except with a person; the viscerotonic tend, therefore, to rationalize their temperamental preferences in terms of a personalistic theology. Their direct intuition, they might say, is of a personal God. But here a very significant fact comes to light (it is discussed at length in the next chapter and need only be mentioned here). Those who take the trouble to train themselves in the arduous technique of mysticism always end, if they go far enough in their work of recollection and meditation, by losing their intuitions of a personal God and having direct experience of an ultimate reality that is impersonal. The experience of the great mystics of every age and country is there to prove that the theology associated with *bhakti-marga* is

ENDS AND MEANS

inadequate, that it misrepresents the nature of ultimate reality. Those who persist in having emotional relationships with a God whom they believe to be personal are people who have never troubled to undertake the arduous training which alone makes possible the mystical union of the soul with the integrating principle of all being. To viscerotonics, with a craving for emotional experience, as also to somatotonics, with a craving for muscular experience, such training must seem particularly arduous. Indeed, the genuine mystical intuition may be an experience which it is all but impossible for many people belonging to these psycho-physiological types ever to have. Be that as it may, the fact remains that such people generally choose the types of religious experience they find most agreeable and easiest to have.

The theology of *bhakti-marga* may be untrue; but it often produces very considerable results with great rapidity. In other words, the emotional method of religious self-education is demonstrably effective. It should be remarked, however, that the emotional method of secular self-education is no less effective. In his volume, *God or Man*, Professor Leuba has pointed out that startling conversions can take place without the question of religion ever arising; that the imitation of admired human models can produce desirable changes of character no less effectively than the imitation of divine models. The trouble with *bhakti-marga* is that it is really too effective by half. Devotion to any object of worship, however intrinsically grotesque or even evil, is capable of producing great changes in the character of the devotees—changes that, up to a point, are genuine ameliorations. Those who have followed the contemporary American cult of the negro man-god, Father Divine, must have been struck by the fact that many, probably most, of Father's worshippers have undergone a striking 'change of heart' and are in many respects better men and women

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

than they were before their conversion to Divinism.¹ But this improvement of character has very definite limitations. Divinists are committed by their theology to a belief in the perfection of Father. The commands of a perfect being should be obeyed. And, in fact, they are obeyed, even when—and this would seem to be the case in certain of the new church's financial transactions—they are not in accord with the highest principles of morality. The abnormal is worthy of study because of the light it throws upon the normal. Divinism is a kind of fantastic parody of a religion of personal devotion; but just because it is a parody, it exhibits very clearly the dangers and defects, as well as the virtues, of *bhakti-marga*. *Bhakti* towards Father produced excellent results for just so long as Father himself behaved with perfect virtue, or as his followers attributed perfect virtue to him. The moment he ceased to be virtuous, or the moment non-virtuous actions were attributed to him under the mistaken belief that they were virtuous, the devotion of his followers ceased to be an influence for good in their lives and became an influence for evil. It is obvious that the obedient devotees or imitators of a person who either is, or is believed to be in some way evil, cannot themselves be wholly good.

What applies to the worship of Father Divine, applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to all other forms of *bhakti-marga*. Devotion to, and imitation of, a personal divinity provide worshippers with more energy to change themselves and the world around them than any other form of religious self-education. This is an empirical fact. Now, energy is a good thing provided it be well directed. Devotion to a personal deity produces a great deal of energy; does it also give a satisfactory direction to the energy produced?

¹ See *The Incredible Messiah*, by Robert Allerton Parker (New York, 1937).

ENDS AND MEANS

A study of history shows that the results of worshipping a personality are by no means necessarily good. Indeed, the energy developed by devotion to a person has been directed to undesirable ends almost as often as to desirable ones. That this should be so is, in the very nature of the case, only to be expected. Devotion to a human person who is still alive, but who has been deified by general acclaim, can hardly fail to be disastrous in the long run. *Bhakti-marga* in regard to an Alexander the Great, a Napoleon, a Hitler may begin by producing certain desirable changes in the worshippers; but it cannot fail to produce degenerative changes in the person worshipped. 'Power always corrupts,' wrote Lord Acton. 'Absolute power absolutely corrupts. All great men are bad.' A deified man is morally ruined by the process of being worshipped. Those who adoringly obey and imitate him are making it inevitable, by their very adoration, that they shall obey and imitate a thoroughly bad, corrupted person.

In cases where the adored man is no longer alive, adoration cannot corrupt its object. But even the best human persons have their defects and limitations; and to these, if they happen to be dead, must be added the defects and limitations of their biographers. Thus, according to his very inadequate biographers, Jesus of Nazareth was never preoccupied with philosophy, art, music, or science, and ignored almost completely the problems of politics, economics and sexual relations. It is also recorded of him that he blasted a fig-tree for not bearing fruit out of season, that he scourged the shopkeepers in the temple precincts and caused a herd of swine to drown. Scrupulous devotion to and imitation of the person of Jesus have resulted only too frequently in a fatal tendency, on the part of earnest Christians, to despise artistic creation and philosophic thought; to disparage the enquiring intelli-

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

gence, to evade all long-range, large-scale problems of politics and economics, and to believe themselves justified in displaying anger, or, as they would doubtless prefer to call it, 'righteous indignation.'

In many cases devotion is directed, not to a living human person, nor to a human person who lived in the past, but to an eternal, omniscient, all-powerful God, who is regarded as being in some way a person. Even in this case *bhakti-marga* is apt to lead to unsatisfactory results. The theologians are at great pains to insist that the personal God is an absolutely perfect person; but, in spite of all their precautions, the deity tends to be thought of by his adorers as being like the only kind of person of whom they have direct knowledge—that is to say, the human individual. This natural tendency to conceive of a personal God as a being similar to a human person is especially prevalent among Christians brought up on the Old Testament. In this remarkable compendium of Bronze-Age literature, God is personal to the point of being almost sub-human. Too often the believer has felt justified in giving way to his worst passions by the reflection that, in doing so, he is basing his conduct on that of a God who feels jealousy and hatred, cannot control his rage and behaves in general like a particularly ferocious oriental tyrant. The frequency with which men have identified the prompting of their own passions with the voice of an all-too-personal God is really appalling. The history of those sects which have believed that individuals could base their conduct upon the moment-to-moment guidance of a personal deity makes most depressing reading. From Thomas Schucker, the Swiss Anabaptist, who was divinely guided to cut off his brother's head, and who actually did so in the sight of a large audience, including his own father and mother, down to Smyth-Pigott, who believed that he was God and who fathered upon the parlour-maid

ENDS AND MEANS

two illegitimate children called respectively Power and Glory—the long succession of divinely justified cranks and lunatics and criminals comes marching down through history into the present time. Belief in a personal God has released an enormous amount of energy directed towards good ends; but it has probably released an equal amount of energy directed towards ends that were silly, or mad, or downright evil. It has also led to that enormous over-valuation of the individual ego, which is so characteristic of Western popular philosophy. All the great religions have taught the necessity of transcending personality; but the Christians have made it particularly difficult for themselves to act upon this teaching. They have accompanied the injunction that men should lose their lives in order to save them by the assertion that God himself is a person and that personal values are the highest that we can know.

A personal deity tends to be regarded as completely transcendent, as somebody *out there*, apart from the percipient and different from him. At various times in the history of Christendom, thinkers have insisted with particular emphasis upon the incommensurable otherness of God. Augustine, Calvin, Kierkegaard and, in our own day, Barth have dwelt emphatically and at length upon this theme. The doctrine of the complete transcendence and otherness of God is probably untrue and its results in the lives of those who believed it have always been extremely undesirable. God being completely other is regarded as being capable of anything—even (in Kierkegaard's phrase) of the most monstrous 'teleological suspensions of morality.' Again, belief in the otherness of God entails belief that grace alone is effective in procuring salvation and that works and a systematic cultivation of the inner life are useless. There is nothing fortuitous in the fact that the first and most ruthless capitalists were men

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

brought up in the tradition of Calvinism. Believing that good works and the inner life were without any eternal significance, they gave up charity and self-education and turned all their attention to getting on in the world. Borrowing from the Old Testament the sordid doctrine that virtue deserves a material reward, they were able to amass wealth and oppress the poor with a thoroughly good conscience; their wealth, they were convinced, was a sign of God's favour, the other fellow's poverty, of moral turpitude.

It would be possible to multiply such instances of the disastrous practical effects of wrong metaphysical beliefs. 'All that we are,' writes the author of the *Dhammapada*, 'is the result of what we have thought.' If we think wrongly, our being and our actions will be unsatisfactory. Thus, the Aztecs believed that the sun was a living person who required for his food the blood of human victims. If the blood were not provided in sufficient quantities, the sun would die and all life on the earth would come to an end. Therefore the Aztecs had to devote a great part of their energy to making war in order that they might have enough prisoners to satisfy the sun's appetite.

Another case. In the basement of the London Museum there hangs a broadsheet describing the trial in the late eighteen-thirties of two men who had been accused of homosexual practices. Condemning them, the judge pointed out that, by their crime, these two men were gravely endangering their country. Sodom had been destroyed because of sodomy. There was every reason to suppose that, if homosexuality were allowed to flourish there, London would suffer the same fate. It followed therefore that the two delinquents richly deserved their death. Accordingly it was ordered that they should be hanged—on a different scaffold from that on which the other criminals were executed, lest by their presence they should

ENDS AND MEANS

somehow contaminate the relatively innocent murderers, coiners and housebreakers condemned at the same assize.

Yet another instance. Hitlerian theology affirms that there is a Nordic race, inherently superior to all others. Hence it is right that Nordics should organize themselves for conquest and should do their best to exterminate people like the Jews, who are members of inferior races.

It is worth remarking that, in all these cases, the presiding deity was personal. For the Aztecs the sun was a person, capable of feeling hunger for blood. The God, who, it was feared, would destroy London because of the sexual eccentricities of its male inhabitants, was the all-too-personal God of the Old Testament. Hitler's God is a rejuvenated version of the Kaiser's 'old German God'—a divine person deeply concerned in the fate of Bismarck's empire and ready to fight on the side of its armies, as Athena fought on the side of the Greeks. Theological beliefs leading to undesirable conduct need not necessarily be associated with the dogma of the personality of God. But as a matter of historical fact, the more eccentric theological errors have very often been associated with a belief in God's personality. This is only natural. A person has passions and caprices; and it is therefore natural that he should do odd things—clamour for the hearts of sacrificial victims, demand the persecution of the Jews, threaten destruction to whole cities because a few of their inhabitants happen to be homosexuals.

The dangers of *bhakti-marga* are manifest; but unfortunately the fact that its results are often pernicious does nothing to lessen its attractiveness to human beings of a certain psychological type. Many people enjoy the actual process of *bhakti-marga* too much to be able to pay any attention to its effects on themselves and on society at large. History shows that, where the emotional method has once taken root, it tends to remain in possession of

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

the field. I have already mentioned the Bhagavata reformation which so profoundly changed the nature of Indian religion during the Middle Ages. To this day *bhakti-marga* retains the popularity it won between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. Japanese Buddhism, as readers of *The Tale of Genji* will recall, had become in Lady Murasaki's day (at the beginning of the eleventh century) predominantly a religion of personal devotion. 'The Indian founder of Buddhism,' to quote Professor Geden, 'was hardly more than a figure and a name.' Sakyamuni's religion, a combination of *karma-marga* with *jñāna-marga*, had been replaced by *bhakti-marga* directed towards Amida Buddha. 'A reform movement was initiated in Japan in the thirteenth century, the object of which was to reinstate Sakyamuni in the supreme place. It proved, however, an entire failure.' The way of devotion seemed more agreeable to the Japanese than the ways of knowledge and duty.

In Christianity *bhakti* towards a personal being has always been the most popular form of religious practice. Up to the time of the Counter-Reformation, however, the way of knowledge ('mystical theology' as it is called in Christian language) was accorded an honourable place beside the way of devotion. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards the way of knowledge came to be neglected and even condemned. We are told by Dom John Chapman that 'Mercurian, who was general of the society (of Jesus) from 1573 to 1580, forbade the use of the works of Tauler, Ruysbroeck, Suso, Harphius, St. Gertrude, and St Mechtilde.' Every effort was made by the Counter-Reformers to heighten the worshipper's devotion to a personal divinity. The literary content of baroque art is hysterical, almost epileptic, in the violence of its emotionality. It even becomes necessary to call in physiology as an aid to feeling. The ecstasies of the saints are represented by seventeenth-century artists as

ENDS AND MEANS

being frankly sexual. Seventeenth-century drapery writhes like so much tripe. In the equivocal personage of Margaret Mary Alacocque, seventeenth-century piety pores over a bleeding and palpitating heart. From this orgy of emotionalism and sensationalism Catholic Christianity seems never completely to have recovered.

The significance of *bhakti* in its relation to cosmological belief is discussed in the next chapter. Our business here is only with its psychological and social aspects. Its results, as we have already seen, are generally good up to a certain point, but bad beyond that point. Nevertheless, *bhakti* is so enjoyable, especially to people of viscerotonic habit, that it is bound to survive. In our own day a majority of Europeans find it intellectually impossible to pay devotion to the supernatural persons who were the objects of worship during the Counter-Reformation period. But the desire to worship persists, the process of worshipping still retains its attraction. The masses continue to tread the path of devotion; but the objects of this *bhakti* are no longer saints and a personal God; they are the personified nation or class, and the deified Leader. The change is wholly for the worse.

It is clear that, given the existence of viscerotonic and somatotonic types, religious practices of the emotional and physiological kind will always be popular. Physiological practices can adapt themselves to almost any sort of belief. The emotional method, on the other hand, inevitably imposes upon those who practise it a personalistic theology. Those who enjoy *bhakti* can never be persuaded to give up their pleasurable practices and the belief correlated with them. In these circumstances, what is the rational idealist to do? So far as I can see, he has two main tasks. He must do his best to advertise the fact that the physiological and the emotional are not the only methods of religious self-education, and especially that there is an

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

alternative to *bhakti* and the almost certainly false beliefs with which *bhakti* is always associated. Owing to the disparagement during recent centuries of mystical theology, or the way of knowledge, many religiously minded Europeans are not even aware that an alternative to *bhakti* exists. The existence of that alternative must be proclaimed and its practical uses and cosmological implications set forth. The second task before the rational idealist is the harder of the two. Accepting as inevitable the continued existence of a large residuum of practisers of *bhakti-marga*, he will have to do all in his power to turn this irrepressible stream of *bhakti* into the channels in which it will do the least mischief. For example, it is manifest that *bhakti* directed towards deified leaders and personified nations, classes or parties must result in evil, not only for society, but ultimately (whatever the immediate good effects in regard to the minor virtues) for the individual as well. To repeat this obvious fact in and out of season is perhaps the most wearisome but also the most necessary of the tasks which the rational idealist must undertake. Towards the transcendental religions his attitude should be discriminatingly critical. The point that he must always remember and of which he must remind the world is that, whenever God is thought of, in Aristotle's phrase, as the commander-in-chief rather than as the order of the army—as a transcendent person rather than as an immanent-and-also-transcendent principle of integration—persecution always tends to arise. It is an extremely significant fact that, before the coming of the Mohammedans, there was virtually no persecution in India. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century and has left a circumstantial account of his fourteen-year stay in the country, makes it clear that Hindus and Buddhists lived side by side without any show of violence. Each party attempted

ENDS AND MEANS

the conversion of the other; but the methods used were those of persuasion and argument, not those of force. Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism is disgraced by anything corresponding to the Inquisition; neither was ever guilty of such iniquities as the Albigensian crusade or such criminal lunacies as the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Moslems who invaded India brought with them the idea of a God who was not the order of the army of being, but its general. *Bhakti* towards this despotic person was associated with wholesale slaughter of Buddhists and Hindus. Similarly *bhakti* towards the personal God of Christianity has been associated, throughout the history of that religion, with the wholesale slaughter of pagans and the retail torture and murder of heretics. It is the business of the rational idealist to harp continually upon this all-important fact. In this way, perhaps, he may be able to mitigate the evil tendencies which history shows to be inherent in the way of devotion and the correlated belief in a personal deity.

It has been necessary to dwell at considerable length on the subject of the emotional method of religious self-education, for the good reason that this method possessed, and still possesses, very great historical importance. To the third method of religious self-education, the method of meditation, I must also devote a good deal of space. It is important not only historically, because of its influence on the affairs of men, but also metaphysically, because of the light it throws on the nature of ultimate reality. With its metaphysical significance I shall deal in the next chapter. In this place I am concerned mainly with the social and psychological results of the methods.¹

¹ For further information on the subject consult A. Tillyard, *Religious Exercises*; Bede Frost, *The Art of Mental Prayer*; and the anonymous *Concentration and Meditation*, published by the Buddhist Lodge, London. All these contain bibliographies.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The method of meditation has often been used in conjunction with the emotional and physiological methods. In its purest form, however, it would seem to be quite independent of either. It is possible for meditation to be practised by those who are neither extreme ascetics nor Hatha-Yogis, and also by those who do not believe in a personal God. Indeed, it might even be argued that it is impossible for those who do believe in a personal God ever adequately to practise meditation or to have a genuine mystical experience. Of this I shall have more to say later. Meanwhile, we must concern ourselves with the practical aspects of the subject. From a humanistic point of view, what precisely is the point and purpose of meditation? The following words from Professor Irving Babbitt's very valuable essay on *Buddha and the Occident* supply the answer. 'We come here to what is for Buddha fundamental in religion. To many things that have been regarded as indispensable by other faiths—for example, prayer and belief in a personal deity—he grants a secondary place or even no place at all; but without the act of recollection or spiritual concentration he holds that the religious life cannot subsist at all.' Speaking of Buddhist love and compassion, Professor Babbitt remarks that they can, like Nirvana, 'be understood only in connection with the special form of activity that is put forth in meditation. Buddhist love does not well forth spontaneously from the natural man, but is, like Christian charity, the supernatural virtue *par excellence*. The current confusion on this point is perhaps the most striking outcome of the sentimentalism of the eighteenth century, and of the emotional romanticism of the nineteenth century that prolonged it. This confusion may be defined psychologically as a tendency to substitute for a super-rational concentration of will a sub-rational expansion of feeling.' The function, then, of meditation is to help a man to

ENDS AND MEANS

put forth a special quality of will. ('Meditation,' says San Pedro de Alcantara, 'is nothing but a discourse addressed by the intellect to the will.') This special quality of will, which is peculiar to man, must be regarded as a fact of observation and experience. How shall this fact be explained? The Christian, as Babbitt points out, explains it in terms of divine grace, as something imparted from some supernatural source existing outside the individual. The Buddhist affirms that 'self is the lord of self' and sees the super-rational will as something latent in the individual psyche, a potentiality that any man, if he so desires and knows how, can actualize either in his present existence or (more probably, since the road to enlightenment is long and steep) in some future life. We see, then, that from a humanistic point of view, meditation is a particularly effective method of self-education.

Rites and ceremonials are essentially social activities. (The person who wishes to perform rites in private is generally the victim of a compulsion neurosis, which forces him, as Dr. Johnson was forced, to live his life to the accompaniment of elaborate gesticulations and formulas.) They provide, among other things, a mechanism by means of which people having a common emotional concern may have their sense of solidarity revived. Ritual is a kind of emotional cement which can give cohesion to great masses of people.

Physiological religion may be either solitary or social. Thus, considerable numbers of individuals can take part in a religious dance; but where the training is by means of ascetic practices or the acquisition of conscious control over hitherto unconscious physical processes, it must in the nature of things be solitary.

In the same way emotional religion may be either solitary or social. The attempt to establish an emotional relationship with a divine person may be made either alone or in

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

the company of others. In the latter case some form of ritual is frequently made to serve, as it were, as a channel along which the shared emotion of the worshippers may flow towards its object.

Meditation is generally practised in solitude; but there is also such a thing as group meditation. The conditions for successful group meditation are as follows. First, the group must not exceed a certain size, otherwise it is extremely unlikely that its members will attain to that intuition of solidarity with one another and with something greater than themselves, which it is the purpose of group meditation to achieve. Second, the individuals composing the group must be exercised in the art of recollection and have some experience of its good results. A group into which children are admitted, or which contains adults who, however well intentioned, do not know how to practise recollection, nor what is its value when practised, is practically certain to achieve nothing. Neglecting to study the psychology of their religion, the Quakers have often made the mistake of attempting group meditation in meetings of unwieldy size, disturbed by the presence of fidgeting children and untrained adults. Such meetings are almost always a failure. Not all Quaker meetings, however, are failures. Where conditions are favourable, the purpose of group meditation is still achieved, just as it was in the early days of Quakerism. Group meditation is known among the Hinayana Buddhists of Ceylon and the Mahayana Buddhists of Tibet. In Japan the Zen monks practise recollection all together, each in his appointed place in the meditation hall of the monastery. Group meditation is also practised by certain Moslem dervishes in Asia Minor—or at least was practised by them, until Kemal Atatürk saw fit, a few years ago, to hang them all.

It is worth while, in this context, to expand a statement made in an earlier chapter to the effect that all dictators

ENDS AND MEANS

and, in general, all politically minded reformers, are profoundly distrustful of the mystic. The reason for this is not far to seek. 'Religion,' in Professor Whitehead's words, 'is world loyalty.' There is a 'connection between universality and solitariness,' inasmuch as 'universality is a disconnection from immediate surroundings.' But disconnection from immediate surroundings is precisely what the politician, especially the dictatorial politician who thinks in terms of class and nation, cannot tolerate. All the dictators, whatever their colour, have attacked religion. Where the dictatorship is revolutionary, this hostility to religion is due in part to the fact that, as a political institution, the Church is generally on the side of the vested interests. But even where, as in Germany, the dictatorship supports and is supported by the vested interests, hostility to religion is hardly less intense than in countries where the dictatorship is revolutionary. In Italy, it is true, Mussolini has made his peace with the Church—but has made it on his own terms. The Church has received a few square miles of independent territory; but Mussolini has taken in exchange the Church's influence over the Italian mind. Italy, then, is only an apparent exception to the rule. Any religion—whether theistic, pantheistic or, like Buddhism, atheistic—which trains men to be non-attached to the 'things of this world' and which teaches them loyalty to the integrating principle of the universe is anathema to the dictator, who demands of his subjects intense attachment, in the form of a frenzied nationalism, and a loyalty addressed exclusively to himself and the State of which he is the head. The dictator and, in general, the politician cannot admit an individual's right to universality and solitariness. He demands that all men shall be passionately gregarious and parochial. Hence Hitler's persecution of Christians, Protestant and Catholic alike; hence Russia's anti-God campaigns; hence the liquidation of the mystical

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

sects of dervishes, not only by Kemal, but also by Ibn Saud; hence Mussolini's machiavellian use of religion as an instrument of government, hence his policy of making God play second fiddle to Caesar, hence the care he takes that the young shall not be taught monotheistic world loyalty, but only loyalty to the local idols, the nation, the Party and himself.¹

¹ In Japan the ruling classes have used the technique of meditation to train the will in the service of militarism. Naval cadets were, perhaps still are, put through a course of Zen mind-training. Like all other instruments, this method can be misused by those who wish to do so.

Chapter XIV

BELIEFS

IN the preceding chapters I have posed and attempted to answer three questions. First: what do we want to become? Second: what are we now? Third: how do we propose to pass from our present condition to the condition we desire to reach? Of these three questions, the third has been answered methodically, in a series of more or less elaborate discussions of ways and means. The second has been answered incidentally at different stages of these discussions. The first, it will be remembered, was asked in the opening chapter and received only the briefest and most categorical answers. In what follows I propose to examine those answers—to consider the social ideals of the prophets and the personal ideals of the founders of religions in the light of what we know about the world. ‘All that we are, is the result of what we have thought.’ Men live in accordance with their philosophy of life, their conception of the world. This is true even of the most thoughtless. It is impossible to live without a metaphysic. The choice that is given us is not between some kind of metaphysic and no metaphysic; it is always between a good metaphysic and a bad metaphysic, a metaphysic that corresponds reasonably closely with observed and inferred reality and one that doesn’t. Logically, this discussion of the nature of the world should have preceded the discussion of the practical ways and means for modifying ourselves and the society in which we live. But the arrangement that is logically most correct is not always the most convenient. For various reasons it has seemed to be

BELIEFS

expedient to reserve this discussion of first principles to the last chapters.

Let us begin by a summary, in the most general terms, of what we know about the world we live in. Science, in Meyerson's phrase, is the reduction of diversity to identity.¹ The diverse, the brute irrational fact, is given by our senses. But we are not content to accept diversity as so given. We have a hunger and thirst for explanation and, for the human mind, explanation consists in the discovery of identity behind diversity. Any theory which postulates the existence of identities behind diversities strikes us as being intrinsically plausible.

Nature seems to satisfy the mind's craving; for, upon investigation, it turns out that identities do in fact underlie apparent diversity. But explanation in these terms is never quite complete. The facts of sensation and of irreversible change in time are irrationals which cannot be completely rationalized by reduction to identity. Science recognizes the specificity of things as well as their underlying sameness. Hegel's mistake was to imagine that nature was wholly rational and therefore deducible *a priori*. It would be convenient if this were the case; but unfortunately it isn't.

The diversity of the material world has been reduced, so far as such reduction is possible, to an ultimate identity. All matter, according to the physicist, is built up, in a limited number of patterns, out of units of energy which, in isolation, seem to possess none of the qualities ordinarily associated with matter in the mass. Between a billion sub-atomic units and one sub-atomic unit there is a difference, not only of quantity, but also of quality. The natural sciences, such as physics, chemistry, biology, are concerned with matter as built up into varying degrees of patterned complexity. The specificity of things, immediately per-

¹ See Chapter II.

ENDS AND MEANS

ceived by our senses, is found to be correlated with the number and the arrangement of ultimate units of energy.

The material universe is pictured by science as composed of a diversity of patterns of a single substance. Common sense arbitrarily selects certain packets of patterned energy-units and regards them as separate, individual existents. This proceeding would seem to be entirely unjustifiable. So-called separate, individual existents are dependent upon one another for their very being. They are interconnected by a network of relationships—electro-magnetic, gravitational, chemical and, in the case of sentient beings, mental. That network gives them their being and reality. An individual existent is nothing except in so far as it is a part of a larger whole. In other words, it is not an individual existent. The things we ordinarily call objects or individuals—a tree, a man, a table—are not ‘concrete realities,’ as the romantic anti-intellectuals would have us believe. They are abstractions from a reality that consists, as systematic investigation reveals, of a network of relations between the interdependent parts of an incalculably greater whole. A man, for example, is what he is only in virtue of his relationship with the surrounding universe. His entire existence is conditioned by his neighbourhood to the earth, with its powerful gravitational field; radiations of many kinds make him dependent on distant heavenly bodies; he is the *locus* of a continuous process of chemical exchange; mentally, he is related to and conditioned by the minds of his contemporaries and predecessors. The common-sense claim that we live among, and ourselves are, independent existents is based upon ignorance. In present circumstances, however, those who insist on talking of men and women as though they were ‘concrete’ independent existents can excuse themselves on the ground that such a description, though incorrect, is less misleading than that of the political theorists who consider that human beings

BELIEFS

should be sacrificed to such entities as 'the nation,' 'the state,' 'the party,' 'the destiny of the race' and so on. The truth is that there are many different levels of abstraction from reality. The entities with which political theory deals belong to a higher order of abstraction than do the separate, individual existents of common sense—are more remote, that is to say, from concrete reality, which consists of the interdependent parts of a totality. The monstrous evils which arise when remote abstractions, like 'nation' and 'state' are regarded as realities more concrete and of greater significance than human beings may be remedied, in some measure, by the insistence on the relative concreteness of individual men and women. But this last doctrine is itself the source of very great evils, which cannot be remedied until we recognize, and choose to act upon, the truth that the 'individual' is also an abstraction from reality. Separate, individual existents are illusions of common sense. Scientific investigation reveals (and these findings, as we shall see later on, are confirmed by the direct intuition of the trained mystic and contemplative) that concrete reality consists of the interdependent parts of a totality and that independent existents are merely abstractions from that reality.

Recent scientific investigations have made it clear that the world of sense experience and of common sense is only a small part of the world as a whole. It is small for two reasons: first, because we are confined to a particular point in space and have scarcely any knowledge by direct acquaintance and little knowledge even by inference of the conditions prevailing in distant parts of the universe; second, because the organs by means of which we establish direct communication with the outside world are incapable of apprehending the whole of reality. This second limitation is of more significance than the first. Even if we were able to make voyages of exploration through interstellar space,

ENDS AND MEANS

we should still be incapable of seeing electro-magnetic vibrations shorter than those we now perceive as violet or longer than those of which we are conscious as red. We should still be unable actually to see or feel even so large an object as a molecule. The shortest instant of time perceptible to us would still be a large fraction of a second. We should still be stone deaf to all sounds above a certain pitch. We should still be without the faculties that enable migrating birds to find their way. And so on. Every animal species inhabits a home-made universe, hollowed out of the real world by means of its organs of perception and its intellectual faculties. In man's case the intellectual faculties are so highly developed that he is able, unlike the other animals, to infer the existence of the larger world enclosing his private universe. He cannot see beyond the violet; but he knows by inference that ultra-violet radiations exist and he is even able to make practical use of these radiations which sense and common sense assure him do not exist. The universe in which we do our daily living is the product of our limitations. We ourselves have made it, selecting it (because we wished to or were incapable of doing otherwise) from a total reality much larger than, and qualitatively different from, the universe of common sense. To this most important of fundamental scientific discoveries I shall have occasion to return, in another context, later on.

So much for the scientific picture of the material world. The scientific picture of mind is unfortunately much less clearly outlined. Indeed, there is no single scientific picture of mind; there are several irreconcilably different pictures. Some scientific investigators insist that mind is merely an epiphenomenon of matter; that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile; that the very notion of consciousness can be discarded altogether and that all mental activity can be explained in terms of conditioned reflexes; that the mind is nothing but an instrument, forged during the course

BELIEFS

of evolution, for securing food, sexual satisfaction and the conditions of physical survival. Others, on the contrary, argue that the phenomena investigated by science are to a considerable extent constructs of the investigating consciousness; that mind cannot be determined by a 'matter' which is itself in part a creation of mind; that mind is a fundamental reality in the universe and is consequently able to pass valid judgments about the nature of the world; that the laws of thought are also laws of things. Which of these two parties is in the right? In this context one fact emerges as highly significant. All men of science, whatever their views, consistently act *as though* they believed in the ability of the human intellect, using the method of logic, to make true judgments about the nature of the world. Such is the behaviour even of the Behaviourist. But, according to his own theory, the Behaviourist (like the other disparagers of mind) is no right to behave in this way. If mind is merely an epiphenomenon of matter, if consciousness is completely determined by physical motions, if the intellect is only a machine for securing food and sexual pleasure, then there is absolutely no reason for supposing that any theory proposed by it can have universal validity. If Behaviourism, for example, is correct, there is no reason for supposing that it can make any kind of valid judgments about the world.

But among judgments about the world of Behaviourism. Therefore, there is no reason for attaching the opinions, among others, of the Behaviourist, if Behaviourism is correct, that it is incorrect.

All that we can say is that the words themselves in this kind of contradiction are not valid, that they formulate theories of universal validity, the very fact that they are anyhow

ENDS AND MEANS

not phenomena but 'epiphenomena,' facts of consciousness) they should feel themselves justified in making inductions about all phenomena past, present and future, constitutes in itself a sufficient denial of the validity of 'nothing-but' judgments concerning the nature of the mind. All science is based upon an act of faith—faith in the validity of the mind's logical processes, faith in the ultimate applicability of the world, faith that the laws of thought are laws of things. In practice, I repeat, if not always in theory, such conceptions are fundamental to all scientific activity. For the rest, scientists are opportunists. They will pass from a common-sense view of the world to advanced idealist theories, making use of one or the other according to the field of study in which they are at work. Unfortunately, few scientists in these days of specialization are ever called upon to work in more than one small field of science. Hence there is a tendency on the part of individual scientists to accept as true particular theories which are in fact only temporarily convenient. It is highly unfortunate that so few scientists are ever taught anything about the metaphysical foundations of science.

Recent research in medicine, and in what is still called parapsychology has thrown light on the nature of mind and matter. During the last forty years the conception of disease among medical men that very much has changed. As well as functional, are direct causes. The body becomes ill because it secretly wants to make it ill, or in a state of agitation that it causes sickening. Whatever its cause, disease is unquestionably a condition of the patient.¹

experiment
ology has
position
world.
grown
rganic
states.
either
such a
from
nce to
ological
ysical'

¹ For the physical basis of re.
by J. E. R. McDonagh, F.R.C.S.

'Disease,

' BELIEFS

a complaint as dental caries may be due to mental causes was maintained in a paper read before the American Dental Congress in 1937. The author pointed out that children living on a perfectly satisfactory diet may still suffer from dental decay. In such cases, investigation generally shows that the child's life at home or at school is in some way unsatisfactory. The teeth decay because their owner is under mental strain.

Mind not only makes sick, it also cures. An optimistic patient has more chance of getting well than a patient who is worried and unhappy. The recorded instances of faith-healing include cases in which even organic diseases were cured almost instantaneously.

Experimenters in hypnotism have shown that it is possible to raise a blister by merely telling a deeply hypnotized subject that he is being burnt. The metal which touches the skin is cold; but the subject feels pain and displays all the physical symptoms of a burn. Conversely, hypnotism can be used to produce anaesthesia, even in major operations. Thus, in the late forties of last century, James Esdaile performed over two hundred operations upon patients anaesthetized by means of hypnosis. Esdaile's surgical technique was pre-Listerian; nevertheless, the mortality among his hypnotized patients was extremely low.

Systematic researches designed to demonstrate the existence of telepathy have been conducted at intervals during the last fifty years. Of these the most recent and the most considerable are those which Professor Rhine has been carrying out at Duke University in North Carolina. Rhine's work, which has been successfully repeated by several other investigators, leaves no doubt as to the existence of telepathy and clairvoyance and very little doubt as to the existence of pre-vision. In his presidential address delivered before the Society for Psychical Research in 1936, Professor C. D. Broad discusses the problems raised by tele-

ENDS AND MEANS

pathy. How does telepathy work? That it is not a physical process akin to radio transmission is obvious; for the strength of the messages does not diminish with distance. After discussing various other alternatives, Professor Broad concludes that it is probably necessary to postulate the existence of some kind of purely mental medium, in which individual minds are bathed, as in a kind of non-physical ether. If there is such a thing as pre-vision, we must presume that this mental medium has its existence outside time. It would seem, then, that mind, or at any rate something of a mental nature—a 'psychic factor' within a psychic medium—exists independently of the body and of the spatial and temporal conditions of bodily life.

I have considered the scientific picture of the material world and the scientific pictures of mind. It is now time to consider the scientific picture of the history of this mental-material conglomerate. The only part of the universe with which we have direct acquaintance is this planet. It is also the only part of the universe in which we can study life and consciousness. How far are we justified in drawing inferences about the general nature of things from the inferences previously drawn from the rather scanty evidence about the history of life on this planet? It is hard indeed to say. We have seen that matter on the earth seems to be built up from the same energy-units as constitute matter in remote parts of the universe and that the laws of thought are laws of things, not only here, but, to all appearance, also there. This being so, to generalize from our inferences regarding the nature of our planetary history would seem to be a process that is at any rate not completely illegitimate. Meanwhile, however, we have to discover what the nature of that history is.

I am not qualified to discuss the methods of evolution, nor, in the present context, does there seem to be any good reason for embarking upon such a discussion. For our

BELIEFS

particular purposes, the results of evolution are more significant than the mechanism by which those results were achieved. In regard to this mechanism, the evidence available seems to point to the conclusion that mutation, hybridization, retardation of growth and foetalization (which are themselves the products of mutation), and natural selection are sufficient to account for evolutionary change and that it is unnecessary to invoke such concepts as orthogenesis or the inheritance of acquired characters. Lamarckism has often been supported by those who are anxious to vindicate the pre-eminence of mind in the world. But, as Haldane has pointed out, these crusaders are really doing a disservice to their cause. If characters acquired as the result of more or less intelligently directed effort are inherited, then we should expect evolution to be a rapid process. But in fact it is extremely slow. If evolution is due to 'cunning' rather than 'luck,' then the cunning must be of a pretty feeble kind; for it has brought life a relatively short way in a very long time. In fact, the evidence for Lamarckism is extremely inadequate. (Neither Lamarckism nor the orthogenetics theory seems to be compatible with the fact that most mutations are demonstrably deleterious.) Mind, as we know, can affect the body profoundly and in a great variety of ways. But, as a matter of empirical fact, this power of affecting the body is limited. To modify the arrangement of the genes must be numbered, it would seem, among the things it cannot do.

There is only one other point in regard to the mechanism of selection about which I need speak in the present context. Competition, when it exists, is of two kinds: between members of different species (inter-specific) and between members of the same species (intra-specific). Intra-specific selection is commoner among abundant species than among species with a small membership and plays a more important part in their evolution. Many of the results of natural

ENDS AND MEANS

selection are demonstrably deleterious, and this is found to be the case above all where the selection has been brought about by intra-specific competition. For example, intra-specific competition leads to an excessively precise adaptation to a given set of circumstances—in other words, to excessive specialization which, as we shall see later on, is always inimical to genuine biological progress. Haldane regards all intra-specific competition as being, on the whole, biologically evil. Competition between adults of the same species tends to 'render the species as a whole less successful in coping with its environment. . . . The special adaptations favoured by intra-specific competition divert a certain amount of energy from other functions.' Man has now little to fear from competition with other species. His worst enemies outside his own species are insects and bacteria; and even with these he has been, and doubtless will continue to be, able to deal successfully. For man, competition is now predominantly intra-specific. A dispassionate analysis of the circumstances in which the human race now lives makes it clear that most of this intra-specific competition is not imposed by any kind of biological necessity, but is entirely gratuitous and voluntary. In other words, we are wantonly and deliberately pursuing a policy which we need not pursue and which we have the best scientific reasons for supposing to be disastrous to the species as a whole. We are using our intelligence to adapt ourselves more and more effectively to the modern conditions of intra-specific competition. We are doing our best to develop a militaristic 'hypertely,' to become, in other words, dangerously specialized in the art of killing our fellows.

Evolution has resulted in the world as we know it today. Is there any reason for regarding this world as superior to the world of earlier geological epochs? In other words, can evolution be regarded as a genuine progress? These

BELIEFS

questions can be answered, with perfect justification, in the affirmative. Certain properties, which it is impossible not to regard as valuable, have been developed in the course of evolution. The lower forms of life persist more or less unchanged; but among the higher forms there has been a definite trend towards greater control and greater independence of the physical environment. Beings belonging to the highest forms of life have increased their capacity for self-regulation, have created an internal environment capable of remaining stable throughout very great changes in the outer world, have equipped themselves with elaborate machinery for picking up knowledge of the outer world, as well as of the inner, and have developed a wonderfully effective instrument for dealing with that knowledge. Evolutionary progress is of two kinds: general, all-round progress and one-sided progress in a particular direction. This last leads to specialization. From the evidence provided by the study of fossils and living forms, we are justified in inferring that any living form which has gone in for one-sided progress thereby makes it impossible for itself to achieve generalized progress. Nothing fails like success; and creatures which have proved eminently successful in specializing themselves to perform one sort of task and to live in one sort of environment are by that very fact foredoomed to ultimate failure.

Failure may take the form of extinction, or alternatively, of survival and adaptive radiation into forms that reach a relatively stable position and become incapable of further development, since such development would imperil the equilibrium existing between the living creature and its environment. Only one species, of all the millions that exist and have existed, has hitherto resisted the temptation to specialize. Sooner or later all the rest have succumbed and have thus put themselves out of the running in the evolutionary race. This is true even of the mammals.

ENDS AND MEANS

After achieving a stable inner environment, placental and, in some cases, monotocous birth, highly developed sense organs, and a well co-ordinated nervous system, all but one proceeded to specialize and so to shut themselves off from the possibility of further progress. Man alone kept himself free from specialization and was therefore able to go on progressing in the direction of greater awareness, greater intelligence, greater control over environment. Moreover, alone of all living beings upon this planet he is in a position to advance from his present position. If man were to become extinct, it seems certain that no other existing animal would be able to develop into a being comparable to man for control over or independence of environment, for capacity to know the world and its own mind.

What are the general conclusions to be drawn from the scientific picture of life's history on this planet? There is no need, in this context, to consider any of the lower forms of life. It is enough to point out, for example, that cold-bloodedness limits the power of any animal to become independent of its environment; that effective control over the environment is impossible for animals of less than a certain size; that some animals are not only too small but are predestined, as the arthropods are predestined by their system of tracheal breathing, to remain small to the end of the chapter; that absolute smallness limits the size of the nervous system and so, apparently, of the amount of mental power which any animal can dispose of. And so forth. We can sum the matter up by saying that progress can be achieved only by the highest types of animal life.

Even among these highest types evolution can continue to be a genuine progress only when certain conditions are fulfilled. Let us enumerate the most important of these conditions.

First of all, an organism must advance, so to speak, along the whole biological front and not with one part of itself or

BELIEFS

in one particular direction only. One-sided specialized advance is incompatible with genuine progress. But one-sided specialist advance is encouraged, as we have seen, by intra-specific competition. This brings us to the second of our conditions, which is that intra-specific competition shall be reduced to a minimum. Progress is dependent on the preponderance of intra-specific co-operation over intra-specific competition. Other things being equal, that species will make most progress whose members are least combative, most inclined to work together instead of against one another. The third condition of biological progress is intelligence. There can be no effective co-operation on any level above the instinctive except among creatures which are aware of one another's needs and are able to communicate with one another. (It is worth noting that intelligence cannot be developed except on the fulfilment of certain physiological and mechanical conditions. These conditions have been set forth by Elliot Smith and other authorities. For example, among the conditions of human intelligence must be numbered man's erect carriage and the consequent development of the hand.)

Intelligence is essential; but intelligence cannot function properly where it is too often or too violently interfered with by the emotions, impulses and emotionally charged sensations. The sensations most heavily charged with emotional content are sensations of smell. Man's sense of smell is relatively poor and this apparent handicap has proved to be an actual advantage to him.¹ Instead of running round like a dog, sniffing at lamp-posts and becoming deeply agitated by what he smells on them, man is able to stand away from the world and use his eyes and his wits, relatively unmoved. Nor is this all. His power of inhibiting emotion

¹ Elliot Smith has shown that the parts of the human brain correlated with the higher intellectual functions have developed at the expense of the olfactory centre.

ENDS AND MEANS

once aroused is evidently much greater than that of most other animals. When a human baby was brought up with a baby chimpanzee (see *The Ape and the Child*, by Professor and Mrs. Kellogg), it was found that the chimpanzee's intelligence, at least during the first eighteen months of life, was more or less equal to the human's. On the contrary, its power of inhibiting emotion was far lower and it was consequently unable very often to make use of its intelligence. (For example, when its parents went away, the baby would cry for a few minutes, then settle down cheerfully to play; the ape would be inconsolable for several hours, during which it was incapable of doing anything else but grieve.) Animals are almost as heavily handicapped by excess of emotionality as by a lack of intelligence. It is this excess of emotionality which has made it impossible for all animals except man to pass from emotional to conceptual speech. Beasts can make noises expressive of their feelings; but they cannot make noises which stand for objects and ideas as such, objects and ideas considered apart from the desires and emotions they arouse. Conceptual speech made possible the development of disinterested thinking, and the capacity to think disinterestedly was responsible for the development of conceptual speech.

No account of the scientific picture of the world and its history would be complete unless it contained a reminder of the fact, frequently forgotten by scientists themselves, that this picture does not even claim to be comprehensive. From the world we actually live in, the world that is given by our senses, our intuitions of beauty and goodness, our emotions and impulses, our moods and sentiments, the man of science abstracts a simplified private universe of things possessing only those qualities which used to be called 'primary.' Arbitrarily, because it happens to be convenient; because his methods do not allow him to deal with the immense complexity of reality, he selects from the whole

BELIEFS

of experience only those elements which can be weighed, measured, numbered, or which lend themselves in any other way to mathematical treatment. By using this technique of simplification and abstraction, the scientist has succeeded to an astonishing degree in understanding and dominating the physical environment. The success was intoxicating and, with an illogicality which, in the circumstances, was doubtless pardonable, many scientists and philosophers came to imagine that this useful abstraction from reality was reality itself. Reality as actually experienced contains intuitions of value and significance, contains love, beauty, mystical ecstasy, intimations of godhead. Science did not and still does not possess intellectual instruments with which to deal with these aspects of reality. Consequently it ignored them and concentrated its attention upon such aspects of the world as it could deal with by means of arithmetic, geometry and the various branches of higher mathematics. Our conviction that the world is meaningless is due in part to the fact (discussed in a later paragraph) that the philosophy of meaninglessness lends itself very effectively to furthering the ends of erotic or political passion; in part to a genuine intellectual error—the error of identifying the world of science, a world from which all meaning and value has been deliberately excluded, with ultimate reality. It is worth while to quote in this context the words with which Hume closes his *Enquiry*: ‘If we take in our hand any volume—of divinity, or school metaphysics, for instance—let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames; for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.’ Hume mentions only divinity and school metaphysics; but his argument would apply just as cogently to poetry, music, painting, sculpture and all ethical and reli-

ENDS AND MEANS

gious teaching. *Hamlet* contains no abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number and no experimental reason concerning evidence; nor does the Hammerklavier Sonata, nor Donatello's David, nor the *Tao Te Ching*, nor *The Following of Christ*. Commit them therefore to the flames: for they can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.

We are living now, not in the delicious intoxication induced by the early successes of science, but in a rather grisly morning-after, when it has become apparent that what triumphant science has done hitherto is to improve the means for achieving unimproved or actually deteriorated ends. In this condition of apprehensive sobriety we are able to see that the contents of literature, art, music—even in some measure of divinity and school metaphysics—are not sophistry and illusion, but simply those elements of experience which scientists chose to leave out of account, for the good reason that they had no intellectual methods for dealing with them. In the arts, in philosophy, in religion men are trying—doubtless, without complete success—to describe and explain the non-measurable, purely qualitative aspects of reality. Since the time of Galileo, scientists have admitted, sometimes explicitly, but much more often by implication, that they are incompetent to discuss such matters. The scientific picture of the world is what it is because men of science combine this incompetence with certain special competences. They have no right to claim that this product of incompetence and specialization is a complete picture of reality. As a matter of historical fact, however, this claim has constantly been made. The successive steps in the process of identifying an arbitrary abstraction from reality with reality itself have been described, very fully and lucidly, in Burt's excellent *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science*; and it is therefore unnecessary for me to develop the theme any further. All that I need add is the fact that, in recent years,

BELIEFS

many men of science have come to realize that the scientific picture of the world is a partial one—the product of their special competence in mathematics and their special incompetence to deal systematically with aesthetic and moral values, religious experiences and intuitions of significance. Unhappily, novel ideas become acceptable to the less intelligent members of society only with a very considerable time-lag. Sixty or seventy years ago the majority of scientists believed—and the belief often caused them considerable distress—that the product of their special incompetence was identical with reality as a whole. To-day this belief has begun to give way, in scientific circles, to a different and obviously truer conception of the relation between science and total experience. The masses, on the contrary, have just reached the point where the ancestors of to-day's scientists were standing two generations back. They are convinced that the scientific picture of an arbitrary abstraction from reality is a picture of reality as a whole and that therefore the world is without meaning or value. But nobody likes living in such a world. To satisfy their hunger for meaning and value, they turn to such doctrines as Nationalism, Fascism and revolutionary Communism. Philosophically and scientifically, these doctrines are absurd; but for the masses in every community, they have this great merit: they attribute the meaning and value that have been taken away from the world as a whole to the particular part of the world in which the believers happen to be living.

These last considerations raise an important question, which must now be considered in some detail. Does the world as a whole possess the value and meaning that we constantly attribute to certain parts of it (such as human beings and their works); and, if so, what is the nature of that value and meaning? This is a question which, a few years ago, I should not even have posed. For, like so many

ENDS AND MEANS

of my contemporaries, I took it for granted that there was no meaning. This was partly due to the fact that I shared the common belief that the scientific picture of an abstraction from reality was a true picture of reality as a whole; partly also to other, non-intellectual reasons. I had motives for not wanting the world to have a meaning; consequently assumed that it had none, and was able without any difficulty to find satisfying reasons for this assumption.

Most ignorance is vincible ignorance. We don't know because we don't want to know. It is our will that decides how and upon what subjects we shall use our intelligence. Those who detect no meaning in the world generally do so because, for one reason or another, it suits their books that the world should be meaningless.

The behaviour of the insane is merely sane behaviour, a bit exaggerated and distorted. The abnormal casts a revealing light upon the normal. Hence the interest attaching, among other madmen, to the extravagant figure of the Marquis de Sade. The Marquis prided himself upon being a thinker. His books, indeed, contain more philosophy than pornography. The hungry smut-hound must plough through long chapters of abstract speculation in order to find the cruelties and obscenities for which he hungers. De Sade's philosophy was the philosophy of meaninglessness carried to its logical conclusion. Life was without significance. Values were illusory and ideals merely the inventions of cunning priests and kings. Sensations and animal pleasures alone possessed reality and were alone worth living for. There was no reason why anyone should have the slightest consideration for anyone else. For those who found rape and murder amusing, rape and murder were fully legitimate activities. And so on.

Why was the Marquis unable to find any value or significance in the world? Was his intellect more piercing than that of other men? Was he forced by the acuity of his

BELIEFS

vision to look through the veils of prejudice and superstition to the hideous reality behind them? We may doubt it. The real reason why the Marquis could see no meaning or value in the world is to be found in those descriptions of fornications, sodomies and tortures which alternate with the philosophizings of *Justine* and *Juliette*. In the ordinary circumstances of life, the Marquis was not particularly cruel; indeed, he is said to have got into serious trouble during the Terror for his leniency towards those suspected of anti-revolutionary sentiments. His was a strictly sexual perversion. It was for flogging actresses, sticking penknives into shop-girls, feeding prostitutes on sugar-plums impregnated with cantharides, that he got into trouble with the police. His philosophical disquisitions, which, like the pornographic day-dreams, were mostly written in prisons and asylums, were the theoretical justification of his erotic practices. Similarly his politics were dictated by the desire to avenge himself on those members of his family and his class who had, as he thought, unjustly persecuted him. He was enthusiastically a revolutionary—at any rate in theory; for, as we have seen, he was too gentle in practice to satisfy his fellow-Jacobins. His books are of permanent interest and value because they contain a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of revolutionary theory. Sade is not afraid to be a revolutionary to the bitter end. Not content with denying the particular system of values embodied in the *ancien régime*, he proceeds to deny the existence of any values, any idealism, any binding moral imperatives whatsoever. He preaches violent revolution not only in the field of politics and economics, but (logical with the appalling logicity of the maniac) also in that of personal relations, including the most intimate of all, the relations between lovers. And, after all, why not? If it is legitimate to torment and kill in one set of circumstances, it must be equally legitimate to torment and kill in all other circum-

ENDS AND MEANS

stances. De Sade is the one completely consistent and thoroughgoing revolutionary of history.

If I have lingered so long over a maniac, it is because his madness illuminates the dark places of normal behaviour. No philosophy is completely disinterested. The pure love of truth is always mingled to some extent with the need, consciously or unconsciously felt by even the noblest and the most intelligent philosophers, to justify a given form of personal or social behaviour, to rationalize the traditional prejudices of a given class or community. The philosopher who finds meaning in the world is concerned, not only to elucidate that meaning, but also to prove that it is most clearly expressed in some established religion, some accepted code of morals. The philosopher who finds no meaning in the world is not concerned exclusively with a problem in pure metaphysics; he is also concerned to prove that there is no valid reason why he personally should not do as he wants to do, or why his friends should not seize political power and govern in the way that they find most advantageous to themselves. The voluntary, as opposed to the intellectual, reasons for holding the doctrines of materialism, for example, may be predominantly erotic, as they were in the case of Lamettrie (see his lyrical account of the pleasures of the bed in *La Volupté* and at the end of *L'Homme Machine*), or predominantly political, as they were in the case of Karl Marx. The desire to justify a particular form of political organization and, in some cases, of a personal will to power, has played an equally large part in the formulation of philosophies postulating the existence of a meaning in the world. Christian philosophers have found no difficulty in justifying imperialism, war, the capitalistic system, the use of torture, the censorship of the press, and ecclesiastical tyrannies of every sort, from the tyranny of Rome to the tyrannies of Geneva and New England. In all these cases they have shown that the mean-

BELIEFS

ing of the world was such as to be compatible with, or actually most completely expressed by, the iniquities I have mentioned above—iniquities which happened, of course, to serve the personal or sectarian interests of the philosophers concerned. In due course there arose philosophers who denied not only the right of these Christian special pleaders to justify iniquity by an appeal to the meaning of the world, but even their right to find any such meaning whatsoever. In the circumstances, the fact was not surprising. One unscrupulous distortion of the truth tends to beget other and opposite distortions. Passions may be satisfied in the process; but the disinterested love of knowledge suffers eclipse.

For myself, as, no doubt, for most of my contemporaries, the philosophy of meaninglessness was essentially an instrument of liberation. The liberation we desired was: simultaneously liberation from a certain political and economic system and liberation from a certain system of morality. We objected to the morality because it interfered with our sexual freedom; we objected to the political and economic system because it was unjust. The supporters of these systems claimed that in some way they embodied the meaning (a Christian meaning, they insisted) of the world. There was one admirably simple method of confuting these people and at the same time justifying ourselves in our political and erotic revolt: we could deny that the world had any meaning whatsoever. Similar tactics had been adopted during the eighteenth century and for the same reasons. From the popular novelists of the period, such as Cr billon and Andr a de Nerciat, we learn that the chief reason for being 'philosophical' was that one might be free from prejudices—above all, prejudices of a sexual nature. More serious writers associated political with sexual prejudice and recommended philosophy (in practice, the philosophy of meaninglessness) as a preparation for social

ENDS AND MEANS

reform or revolution. The early nineteenth century witnessed a reaction towards meaningful philosophy of a kind that could, unhappily, be used to justify political reaction. The men of the new Enlightenment which occurred in the middle years of the nineteenth century once again used meaninglessness as a weapon against the reactionaries. The Victorian passion for respectability was, however, so great that, during the period when they were formulated, neither Positivism nor Darwinism was used as a justification for sexual indulgence. After the War the philosophy of meaninglessness came once more triumphantly into fashion. As in the days of Lamettrie and his successors the desire to justify a certain sexual looseness played a part in the popularization of meaninglessness at least as important as that played by the desire for liberation from an unjust and inefficient form of social organization. By the end of the 'twenties a reaction had begun to set in—away from the easy-going philosophy of general meaninglessness towards the hard, ferocious theologies of nationalistic and revolutionary idolatry. Meaning was reintroduced into the world, but only in patches. The universe as a whole still remained meaningless, but certain of its parts, such as the nation, the state, the class, the party, were endowed with significance and the highest value. The general acceptance of a doctrine that denies meaning and value to the world as a whole, while assigning them in a supreme degree to certain arbitrarily selected parts of the totality, can have only evil and disastrous results. 'All that we are (and consequently all that we do) is the result of what we have thought.' We have thought of ourselves as members of supremely meaningful and valuable communities¹—deified nations, divine classes and what not—existing within a meaningless universe. And because we have thought like this, rearmament is in full swing, economic nationalism becomes ever more intense, the battle of rival propagandas grows

BELIEFS

ever fiercer, and general war becomes increasingly probable.

It was the manifestly poisonous nature of the fruits that forced me to reconsider the philosophical tree on which they had grown. It is certainly hard, perhaps impossible, to demonstrate any necessary connection between truth and practical goodness. Indeed it was fashionable during the Enlightenment of the middle nineteenth century to speak of the need for supplying the masses with 'vital lies' calculated to make those who accepted them not only happy, but well behaved. The truth—which was that there was no meaning or value in the world—should be revealed only to the few who were strong enough to stomach it. Now, it may be, of course, that the nature of things has fixed a great gulf between truth about the world on the one hand and practical goodness on the other. Meanwhile, however, the nature of things seems to have so constituted the human mind that it is extremely reluctant to accept such a conclusion, except under the pressure of desire or self-interest. Furthermore, those who, to be liberated from political or sexual restraint, accept the doctrine of absolute meaninglessness tend in a short time to become so much dissatisfied with their philosophy (in spite of the services it renders) that they will exchange it for any dogma, however manifestly nonsensical, which restores meaning if only to a part of the universe. Some people, it is true, can live contentedly with a philosophy of meaninglessness for a very long time. But in most cases it will be found that these people possess some talent or accomplishment that permits them to live a life which, to a limited extent, is profoundly meaningful and valuable. Thus an artist or a man of science can profess a philosophy of general meaninglessness and yet lead a perfectly contented life. The reason for this must be sought in the fact that artistic creation and scientific research are absorbingly delightful

ENDS AND MEANS

occupations, possessing, moreover, a certain special significance in virtue of their relation to truth and beauty. Nevertheless, artistic creation and scientific research may be, and constantly are, used as devices for escaping from the responsibilities of life. They are proclaimed to be ends absolutely good in themselves—ends so admirable that those who pursue them are excused from bothering about anything else. This is particularly true of contemporary science. The mass of accumulated knowledge is so great that it is now impossible for any individual to have a thorough grasp of more than one small field of study. Meanwhile, no attempt is made to produce a comprehensive synthesis of the general results of scientific research. Our universities possess no chair of synthesis. All endowments, moreover, go to special subjects—and almost always to subjects which have no need of further endowment, such as physics, chemistry and mechanics. In our institutions of higher learning about ten times as much is spent on the natural sciences as on the sciences of man. All our efforts are directed, as usual, to producing improved means to unimproved ends. Meanwhile intensive specialization tends to reduce each branch of science to a condition almost approaching meaninglessness. There are many men of science who are actually proud of this state of things. Specialized meaninglessness has come to be regarded, in certain circles, as a kind of hall-mark of true science. Those who attempt to relate the small particular results of specialization with human life as a whole and its relation to the universe at large are accused of being bad scientists, charlatans, self-advertisers. The people who make such accusations do so, of course, because they do not wish to take any responsibility for anything, but merely to retire to their cloistered laboratories, and there amuse themselves by performing delightfully interesting researches. Science and art are only too often a superior kind of dope, possessing this advantage

BELIEFS

over booze and morphia: that they can be indulged in with a good conscience and with the conviction that, in the process of indulging, one is leading the 'higher life.' Up to a point, of course, this is true. The life of the scientist or the artist is a higher life. Unfortunately, when led in an irresponsible, one-sided way, the higher life is probably more harmful for the individual than the lower life of the average sensual man and certainly, in the case of the scientist, much worse for society at large.

We see, then, that the mind is so constituted that a philosophy of meaninglessness is accepted only at the suggestion of the passions and is persisted in only by those whose heredity and upbringing make it possible for them to live as though the world were at least partially meaningful. The fact that the mind has a certain difficulty in accepting the philosophy of meaninglessness is significant, if only to the extent that it raises the question whether truth and goodness may not be somehow correlated in the nature of things. Nor is the old Stoic appeal to the *consensus gentium* by any means entirely negligible. That so many philosophers and mystics, belonging to so many different cultures, should have been convinced, by inference or by direct intuition, that the world possesses meaning and value is a fact sufficiently striking to make it worth while at least to investigate the belief in question.

Let us begin the investigation by considering the stock arguments used in support of theism. Of these the argument from design was at one time the most popular. To-day it no longer carries conviction. To begin with, we are no longer certain that the design, upon which Paley and the earlier thinkers based their arguments, is more than the appearance of design. What looks as though it had been planned in advance may be in fact merely the result of a long-drawn process of adaptation. The relationship existing between X and Y may be the kind of relationship that

ENDS AND MEANS

an intelligent being would have planned. But that is no reason for supposing that an intelligent being did in fact plan it. Such a relationship may equally well be the result of natural selection working blindly to produce a state of equilibrium between two originally discordant and mutually unadapted entities. Moreover, even if the evidence for design is taken at its face value (as it was taken by Kant), there is still no reason for supposing that the designer was a single supreme being. Upon this point the arguments adduced by Hume and Kant are decisive.

The ontological argument is even less convincing than the argument from design. Anselm was decisively refuted by Aquinas and Descartes by Kant. In recent years, the verbal foundations of logic have been subjected to the most searching analysis, as the result of which the ontological argument seems still less satisfactory than it did even in Kant's day.

The cosmological proof of the existence of God is based upon the argument that if contingent beings exist there must exist a necessary being; and that if there is an *ens necessarium* it must be at the same time an *ens realissimum*. In his earlier writings Kant produced a very elaborate speculative proof of God's existence, based upon the argument that the possible presupposes the actual. Later, when he had developed his Critical Philosophy, he rejected this proof and sought to show that all the arguments for natural theology, including the cosmological, were unsound. In the course of his later refutation of the cosmological proof, Kant has to dispose of the natural theologian's argument that the existence of causally related events implies the existence of a First Cause. He does this by arguing that causality is merely a principle for ordering appearances in the sensible world, therefore cannot legitimately be used for transcending the world of sense. This argument has been revived, in a less pedantic form, by Brunschvicg in his *Progrès de la Conscience* (ii. 778): '*En toute évidence, ceux-*

BELIEFS

là même qui invoquent le principe de la causalité comme une loi fondamentale de la raison humaine, ne peuvent y obéir strictement que s'ils en font usage pour relier de l'unité d'un jugement deux objets dont l'existence leur est préalablement certifiée. C'est la loi elle-même qui s'oppose à ce qu'ils aillent forger de leur autorité privée le terme qui manque pour la mise en œuvre effective du principe: l'application transcendente de la causalité revient à la pétition d'un objet imaginaire.' The question arises: what are the objects which can be legitimately connected by the principle of causality? Kant involved himself in extraordinary difficulties by limiting causality to events in the world of sense. But the only form of causality with which we have direct acquaintance is our own voluntary activity. We know directly that our will is the cause of our performing a given action in the world of sense. It is no doubt true, as Brunschvicg says, that we have no right to apply the principle of causality except to objects of which we already know, either by direct acquaintance or by inference, that they exist. Acting on this principle, we may legitimately postulate a causal connection between one sense object and another sense object and also between a sense object and a mental state which is not a sense object. Whether in fact there can be mental states which do not belong to individual human beings or animals is another question. All that we can say in this particular context is that, if such mental states exist, there seems to be no reason why (supposing them to be analogous to our own mental states) they should not be causally related to events in the world of sense.

The moral argument for theism may be very briefly summed up as follows. Moral action aims at the realization of the highest good. The highest good cannot be realized except where there is a virtuous rational will in persons and a world in which this virtuous rational will is not thwarted—a world where virtue is united with happi-

ENDS AND MEANS

ness. But it is a matter of brute empirical fact that, in the world of phenomena, the most virtuous are not necessarily the happiest, and that the rational will is not always that which gets itself done. It follows therefore that the union of virtue and happiness, without which the highest good cannot be realized, must be effected by some power external to ourselves, a power which so arranges things that, whatever partial and temporary appearance may be, the total world order is moral and demonstrates the union of virtue with happiness.

Those who oppose this argument do so, first, on the ground that it is merely a piece of 'wishful thinking,' and, second, that words like 'virtue,' 'the good' and all the rest have no definite meaning, but change from one community to another.

We discredit thoughts which have wishes as their fathers; and in very many circumstances, we are certainly right in doing so. But there are certain circumstances in which wishes are a reliable source of information, not only about ourselves, but also about the outside world. From the premiss, for example, of thirst we are justified in arguing the existence of something which can satisfy thirst. Nor is it only in the phenomenal world that such wishful arguments have validity. We have, as I have pointed out in an earlier paragraph, a craving for explanation. This craving is satisfied by the reduction of diversity to identity, so much so that any theory which postulates the existence of identity behind diversity seems to us intrinsically plausible. Like philosophy and religion, science is an attempt systematically to satisfy the craving for explanation in terms of theories which seem plausible because they postulate the existence of identity behind diversity. But here an interesting and highly significant fact emerges: observation and experiment seem to demonstrate that what the human mind regards as intrinsically plausible is in fact true and that the

BELIEFS

craving for explanation, which is a craving for identity behind diversity, is actually satisfied by the real world; for the real world reveals itself as being in effect a unity in diversity. The craving for explanation was felt by men *thousands of years before the instruments, by means of which that craving could be scientifically satisfied, had been invented.* The old philosophers of nature assuaged that craving by postulating the existence of some single substance, material or mental, underlying the apparent diversity of independent existents, or by proclaiming that all matter must be built of identically similar atoms, variously arranged. Within the last half-century investigation by means of instruments of precision has actually demonstrated that these cosmological theories which, up till then, could only be described as pieces of wishful thinking designed to satisfy the inborn craving for explanation, were in fact remarkably consonant with the facts of the empirical world. The craving for righteousness seems to be a human characteristic just as fundamental as the craving for explanation. The moral argument in favour of theism is certainly a piece of wishful thinking; but it is no more wishful than the arguments in favour of the atomic theory propounded by Democritus and Epicurus, or even by Boyle and Newton. The theory by means of which these natural philosophers tried to satisfy their craving for explanation was found to be in tolerably close accord with the facts discovered by the later investigators, equipped with more effective instruments for exploring physical reality. Whether it will ever be possible to verify the theories of the moral philosophers by direct observation and experiment seems doubtful. But that is no reason for denying the truth of such theories. Nor, as we have seen, is the fact that they originate in wishes. '*Tu ne me chercherais pas si tu ne me possédais,*' wrote Pascal. '*Ne t'inquiète donc pas.*' The theories devised to satisfy the craving for explanation have proved

ENDS AND MEANS

to be remarkably accurate in their account of the nature of the world; we have no right to reject as mere subjective illusions the analogous thesis devised to satisfy the cravings for righteousness, for meaning, for value.

At this point we are confronted by the argument that such words as 'good,' 'virtue' and the like have no definite meaning, but signify now this, now that, according to the degree of latitude, the colour of the skin, the local mythology. This is, of course, perfectly true. The content of judgments of value is demonstrably variable. Two important points should, however, be noted in this context. The first is that such judgments are passed by all human beings, that the category of value is universally employed. The second is that, as knowledge, sensibility and non-attachment increase, the contents of the judgments of value passed even by men belonging to dissimilar cultures tend to approximate. The ethical doctrines taught in the Tao Te Ching, by Gautama Buddha and his followers on the Lesser and above all the Greater Vehicle, in the Sermon on the Mount and by the best of the Christian saints, are not dissimilar. Among human beings who have reached a certain level of civilization and of personal freedom from passion and social prejudice there exists a real *consensus gentium* in regard to ethical first principles. These first principles are, of course, in constant danger from the passions and from ignorance, itself in many cases the fruit of passion. Passion and ignorance work, not only on individuals, but sometimes also on entire communities. In the latter case a systematic attempt is made to replace the ethical first principles of civilized humanity by other first principles more in accord with the prevailing mass-emotions and national interests. This process is taking place at the present time all over the world. Nationalistic and revolutionary passions find themselves in conflict with the standards of civilized morality. Consequently the standards of civilized morality are every-

BELIEFS

where denounced as false and wicked, and new standards are set up in their place. The nature of these new standards varies with the political ideals of the countries in which they are set up—but varies only very slightly. Essentially all the new moralities, Communist, Fascist, Nazi or merely Nationalist, are singularly alike. All affirm that the end justifies the means; and in all the end is the triumph of a section of the human species over the rest. All justify the unlimited use of violence and cunning. All preach the subordination of the individual to a ruling oligarchy, deified as 'the State.' All inculcate the minor virtues, such as temperance, prudence, courage and the like; but all disparage the higher virtues, charity and intelligence, without which the minor virtues are merely instruments for doing *evil with increased efficiency*.

Examples of reversion to barbarism through mere ignorance are unhappily abundant in the history of Christianity. The early Christians made the enormous mistake of burdening themselves with the Old Testament, which contains, along with much fine poetry and sound morality, the history of the cruelties and treacheries of a Bronze-Age people, fighting for a place in the sun under the protection of its anthropomorphic tribal deity. Christian theologians did their best to civilize and moralize this tribal deity; but, inspired in every line, dictated by God himself, the Old Testament was always there to refute them. Ancient ignorance had been sanctified as revelation. Those whom it suited to be ignorant and, along with them, the innocent and uneducated could find in this treasure-house of barbarous stupidity justifications for every crime and folly. Texts to justify such abominations as religious wars, the persecution of heretics, breaking of faith with unbelievers, could be found in the sacred books and were in fact used again and again throughout the whole history of the Christian Church to mitigate the inconvenient decency of

ENDS AND MEANS

civilized morality. In the last analysis, all this folly and wickedness can be traced back to a mistaken view of the world. The Hebrews of the Bronze Age thought that the integrating principle of the universe was a kind of magnified human person, with all the feelings and passions of a human person. He was wrathful, for example, he was jealous, he was vindictive. This being so, there was no reason why his devotees should not be wrathful, jealous and vindictive. Among the Christians this primitive cosmology led to the burning of heretics and witches, the wholesale massacre of Albigensians, Catharists, Protestants, Catholics and a hundred other sects. In the modern world ignorance about the nature of the universe takes the form of a refusal to speculate about that nature and an insistence that there is no meaning or value except in such small and arbitrarily selected parts of the whole as the nation, the state, the class and the party. To believe that the nation is God is a mistake just as grotesque as was the mistake of supposing that the sun would die if it did not get victims or that God is a kind of large invisible man, with all the most disgraceful human passions.

We are back again at the point reached on an earlier page—the point at which we discover that an obviously untrue philosophy of life leads in practice to disastrous results; the point where we realize the necessity of seeking an alternative philosophy that shall be true and therefore fruitful of good. In the interval, we have considered the classical arguments in favour of theism and have found that some carry no conviction whatever, while the rest can only raise a presumption in favour of the theory that the world possesses some integrating principle that gives it significance and value. There is probably no argument by which the case for theism, or for deism, or for pantheism in either its pancosmic or acosmic form, can be convincingly proved. The most that ‘abstract reasoning’ (to use Hume’s phrase)

BELIEFS

can do is to create a presumption in favour of one or other hypothesis; and this presumption can be increased by means of 'experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact or evidence.' Final conviction can only come to those who make an act of faith. The idea is one which most of us find very distressing. But it may be doubted whether this particular act of faith is intrinsically more difficult than those which we have to make, for example, every time we frame a scientific hypothesis, every time that, from the consideration of a few phenomena, we draw inference concerning all phenomena, past, present and future. On very little evidence, but with no qualms of intellectual conscience, we assume that our craving for explanation has a real object in an explicable universe, that the aesthetic satisfaction we derive from certain arguments is a sign that they are true, that the laws of thought are also laws of things. There seems to be no reason why, having swallowed this camel, we should not swallow another, no larger really than the first. The reasons why we strain at the second camel have been given above. Once recognized, they cease to exist and we become free to consider on their merits the evidence and arguments that would reasonably justify us in making the final act of faith and assuming the truth of a hypothesis that we are unable fully to demonstrate.

'Abstract reasoning' must now give place to 'experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact or evidence.' Natural science, as we have seen, deals only with those aspects of reality that are amenable to mathematical treatment. The rest it merely ignores. But some of the experiences thus ignored by natural science—*aesthetic experiences*, for example, and *religious experiences*—throw much light upon the present problem. It is with the fact of such experiences and the evidence they furnish concerning the nature of the world that we have now to concern ourselves.

To discuss the nature and significance of aesthetic

ENDS AND MEANS

experience would take too long. It is enough, in this place, merely to suggest that the best works of literary, plastic and musical art give us more than mere pleasure; they furnish us with information about the nature of the world. The *Sanctus* in Beethoven's Mass in D, Seurat's *Grande Jatte*, *Macbeth*—works such as these tell us, by strange but certain implication, something significant about the ultimate reality behind appearances. Even from the perfection of minor masterpieces—certain sonnets of Mallarmé, for instance, certain Chinese ceramics—we can derive illuminating hints about the 'something far more deeply interfused,' about 'the peace of God that passeth all understanding.' But the subject of art is enormous and obscure, and my space is limited. I shall therefore confine myself to a discussion of certain religious experiences which bear more directly upon the present problem than do our experiences as creators and appreciators of art.

I have spoken in the preceding chapter of meditation as a device, in Babbitt's words, for producing a 'super-rational concentration of the will.' But meditation is more than a method of self-education; it has also been used, in every part of the world and from the remotest periods, as a method for acquiring knowledge about the essential nature of things, a method for establishing communion between the soul and the integrating principle of the universe. Meditation, in other words, is the technique of mysticism. Properly practised, with due preparation, physical, mental and moral, meditation may result in a state of what has been called 'transcendental consciousness'—the direct intuition of, and union with, an ultimate spiritual reality that is perceived as simultaneously beyond the self and in some way within it. ('God in the depths of us,' says Ruysbroeck, 'receives God who comes to us: it is God contemplating God.') Non-mystics have denied the validity of the mystical experience, describing it as merely

BELIEFS

subjective and illusory. But it should be remembered that, to those who have never actually had it, any direct intuition must seem subjective and illusory. It is impossible for the deaf to form any idea of the nature or significance of music. Nor is physical disability the only obstacle in the way of musical understanding. An Indian, for example, finds European orchestral music intolerably noisy, complicated, over-intellectual, inhuman. It seems incredible to him that anyone should be able to perceive beauty and meaning, to recognize an expression of the deepest and subtlest emotions, in this elaborate cacophony. And yet, if he has patience and listens to enough of it, he will come at last to realize, not only theoretically, but also by direct, immediate intuition, that this music possesses all the qualities which Europeans claim for it. Of the significant and pleasurable experiences of life only the simplest are open indiscriminately to all. The rest cannot be had except by those who have undergone a suitable training. One must be trained even to enjoy the pleasures of alcohol and tobacco; first whiskies seem revolting, first pipes turn even the strongest of boyish stomachs. Similarly, first Shakespeare sonnets seem meaningless; first Bach fugues, a bore; first differential equations, sheer torture. But training changes the nature of our spiritual experiences. In due course, contact with an obscurely beautiful poem, an elaborate piece of counterpoint or of mathematical reasoning, causes us to feel direct intuitions of beauty and significance. It is the same in the moral world. A man who has trained himself in goodness comes to have certain direct intuitions about character, about the relations between human beings, about his own position in the world—intuitions that are quite different from the intuitions of the average sensual man. Knowledge is always a function of being. What we perceive and understand depends upon what we are; and what we are depends partly on circum-

ENDS AND MEANS

stances, partly, and more profoundly, on the nature of the efforts we have made to realize our ideal and the nature of the ideal we have tried to realize. The fact that knowing depends upon being leads, of course, to an immense amount of misunderstanding. The meaning of words, for example, changes profoundly according to the character and experiences of the user. Thus, to the saint, words like 'love,' 'charity,' 'compassion' mean something quite different from what they mean to the ordinary man. Again, to the ordinary man, Spinoza's statement that 'blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself' seems simply untrue. Being virtuous is, for him, a most tedious and distressing process. But it is clear that to someone who has trained himself in goodness, virtue really is blessedness, while the life of the ordinary man, with its petty vices and its long spells of animal thoughtlessness and insentience, seems a real torture. In view of the fact that knowing is conditioned by being and that being can be profoundly modified by training, we are justified in ignoring most of the arguments by which non-mystics have sought to discredit the experience of mystics. The being of a colour-blind man is such that he is not competent to pass judgment on a painting. The colour-blind man cannot be educated into seeing colours, and in this respect he is different from the Indian musician, who begins by finding European symphonies merely deafening and bewildering, but can be trained, if he so desires, to perceive the beauties of this kind of music. Similarly, the being of a non-mystical person is such that he cannot understand the nature of the mystic's intuitions. Like the Indian musician, however, he is at liberty, if he so chooses, to have some kind of direct experience of what at present he does not understand. This training is one which he will certainly find extremely tedious; for it involves, first, the leading of a life of constant awareness and unremitting moral effort, second,

BELIEFS

steady practice in the technique of meditation, which is probably about as difficult as the technique of violin-playing. But, however tedious, the training can be undertaken by anyone who wishes to do so. Those who have not undertaken the training can have no knowledge of the kind of experiences open to those who have undertaken it and are as little justified in denying the validity of those direct intuitions of an ultimate spiritual reality, at once transcendent and immanent, as were the Pisan professors who denied, on *a priori* grounds, the validity of Galileo's direct intuition (made possible by the telescope) of the fact that Jupiter has several moons.

The validity of the mystical experience is often questioned on the ground that the mystics of each religion have direct intuition only of the particular deities they are accustomed to worship. This is only partially true. There are good mystics and bad mystics, just as there are good and bad artists. The great majority of artists are, and always have been, bad or indifferent; and the same is probably true of the majority of mystics. Significantly enough it is always among those mystics, whom qualified critics regard as second-rate, that the intuitions of ultimate reality take a particularized form. To the mystics who are generally regarded as the best of their kind, ultimate reality does not appear under the aspect of the local divinities. It appears as a spiritual reality so far beyond particular form or personality that nothing can be predicated of it.

'The *atman* is silence,' is what the Hindus say of ultimate spiritual reality. The only language that can convey any idea about the nature of this reality is the language of negation, of paradox, of extravagant exaggeration. The pseudo-Dionysius speaks of the 'ray of the divine darkness,' of 'the super-lucent darkness of silence' and of the necessity to 'leave behind the senses and the intellectual operations and all things known by sense and intellect.' 'If anyone,'

ENDS AND MEANS

he writes, 'seeing God, understands what he has seen, he has not seen God.' '*Nescio, nescio*,' was what St. Bernard wrote of the ultimate reality; '*neti, neti*,' was Yajnavalkya's verdict at the other side of the world. 'I know not, I know not:., not so, not so.' We are a long way from particularized Hindu or Christian divinities.

The biography of most of the first-class Christian mystics is curiously similar. Brought up to believe in the personality of the triune God and in the existence and ubiquitous presence of other divine persons, such as the Virgin and the saints, they begin their mystical career by entering, as they suppose, into relations with supernatural personalities. Then, as they advance further along the path—and all the mystics are agreed that this process is genuinely an advance—they find that their visions disappear, that their awareness of a personality fades, that the emotional outpourings which were appropriate when they seemed to be in the presence of a person, become utterly inappropriate and finally give place to a state in which there is no emotion at all. For many Christian mystics this process has been extremely distressing. The anguish of losing contact with personality—of having to abandon the traditional beliefs, constitutes what St. John of the Cross calls the Night of the Senses, and it would seem that the same anguish is an element of that still more frightful desolation, the Night of the Spirit. St. John of the Cross considers that all true mystics must necessarily pass through this terrible dark night. So far as strictly orthodox Christians are concerned, he is probably right. In this context, a most valuable document is the Life of Marie Lataste.¹ Marie Lataste was an uneducated peasant girl, completely ignorant of the history of mysticism. She begins by having visions of the Virgin and of Christ. Her mystical experience at this period consists essentially of emotional relationships with divine persons. In the course

¹ Summarized in Miss Tillyard's *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 202.

BELIEFS

of time the sense of a personal presence leaves her. She feels lonely and abandoned. It is the dark night of the soul. In the end, however, she comes to understand that this new form of experience—the imageless and emotionless cognition of some great impersonal force—is superior to the old and represents a closer approach to ultimate reality. Marie Lataste's case is particularly interesting, because her ignorance of mystical literature precludes the possibility that she deliberately or unconsciously imitated any other mystic. Her experience was wholly her own. Brought up in the traditional belief that God is a person, she gradually discovers by direct intuition that he is not a person; and for a time, at least, the discovery causes her considerable distress. For orthodox Christians, I repeat, the dark night of the soul would seem to be an unescapable horror.

Significantly enough this particular form of spiritual anguish is not experienced by unorthodox Christians, nor by those non-Christian mystics who profess a religion that regards God as impersonal. For example, that most remarkable of the later mediaeval mystics, the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, makes no mention of any phase of spiritual distress. The fact is that he has no reason to be distressed. From the first his preoccupation is with God the Father rather than with God the Son; and from the first he assumes that God is impersonal. He is therefore never called upon to make any excruciating abandonment of cherished beliefs. The doctrine with which he starts out is actually confirmed by the direct intuition of ultimate reality which comes to him in his moments of mystical experience. Similarly, we never, so far as I know, hear anything about the dark Night of the Senses in the literature of Buddhist or Hindu mysticism. Here again the belief with which the oriental mystic sets out is in accord with the testimony of his own experience. He has no

ENDS AND MEANS

treasured belief to give up; therefore enlightenment entails for him no spiritual anguish.

All the writers in the great tradition of Christian mystical theology have insisted on the necessity of purging the mind, during meditation on the ultimate reality, of all images. From Clement of Alexandria, who died at the beginning of the third century and who was the first Christian writer on mystical theology, down to St. John of the Cross in the sixteenth, the tradition is unbroken. It is agreed that the attempt to think of God in terms of images, to conceive ultimate reality as having form or a nature describable in words, is foredoomed to failure. In the latter part of the sixteenth century there was a complete reversal of tradition. The subject has been treated with a wealth of learned detail by Dom John Chapman in the admirable essay on Roman Catholic Mysticism, which is printed in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and it is unnecessary for me to do more than briefly summarize his conclusions. 'At this very time (the end of the sixteenth century) the dogmatic theologians were rising up against mystical theology. The great Dominicans, following the example of St. Thomas in his *Summa*, ignored it; the great Jesuits denied its very existence.' (The Jesuits, of course, had been brought up on Ignatius's spiritual exercises in which every effort is made, not to suppress the image-forming phantasy—that worst obstacle, according to St. John of the Cross and all the earlier mystics, in the way of a genuine intuition of ultimate reality—but to develop it, if possible, to the pitch of hallucination.) By the middle of the seventeenth century Cardinal Bona could state that 'pure prayer exercised without phantasmata is universally denied by the scholastics.' At the same time, 'art began no longer to represent the saints as kneeling calmly in adoration, but as waving their arms and stretching their necks and rolling their eyes, in ecstasies of sensuous longing, while they tear

BELIEFS

aside their clothes to relieve their burning bosoms.' Contemplation, meanwhile, has come to be regarded as 'mainly the sensible tasting of mysteries, especially of the Passion.' (It is worth remarking that 'the tendency to substitute for a superrational concentration of will a subrational expansion of feeling' began, at any rate in the sphere of religion, not in the eighteenth century, as Babbitt has said, but in the seventeenth.) In this unpropitious atmosphere mysticism could not thrive; and, as Dom Chapman points out, there has been an almost complete dearth of Catholic mystics from the late sixteenth century down to the present day. Significant in this context is the remark made by Father Bede Frost, in his *Art of Mental Prayer*, to the effect that the great age of sacramentalism began in the nineteenth century. During the Middle Ages far less stress was laid on sacramental religion than is laid at the present time, far more on preaching and, above all, spiritual exercises and contemplation. An unsympathetic observer would be justified in pointing to the fact as a symptom of degeneration. A religion which once laid emphasis on the need to educate men's wills and train their souls for direct communion with ultimate reality, and which now attaches supreme importance to the celebration of Sacraments (supposed in some way to cause the infusion of divine grace)¹ and to the performance of rituals calculated to induce in the participants a 'subrational expansion of feeling,' is certainly not progressing. It is becoming worse, not better.

Systematic training in recollection and meditation makes possible the mystical experience, which is a direct intuition of ultimate reality. At all times and in every part of the world, mystics of the first order have always agreed that this ultimate reality, apprehended in the process of medita-

¹ The Council of Trent anathematized 'si quis dixerit sacramenta novae legis non continere gratiam.'

ENDS AND MEANS

tion, is essentially impersonal. This direct intuition of an impersonal spiritual reality, underlying all being, is in accord with the findings of the majority of the world's philosophers.

'There is,' writes Professor Whitehead, in *Religion in the Making*, 'a large concurrence in the negative doctrine that the religious experience does not include any direct intuition of a definite person, or individual. . . . The evidence for the assertion of a general, though not universal, concurrence in the doctrine of no direct vision of a personal God, can only be found by a consideration of the religious thought of the civilized world. . . . Throughout India and China, religious thought, so far as it has been interpreted in precise form, disclaims the intuition of ultimate personality substantial to the universe. This is true of Confucian philosophy, Buddhist philosophy and Hindu philosophy. There may be personal embodiments, but the substratum is impersonal. Christian theology has also, in the main, adopted the position that there is no direct intuition of such a personal substratum for the world. It maintains the doctrine of a personal God as a truth, but holds that our belief in it is based upon inference.' There seems, however, to be no cogent reason why, from the existing evidence, we should draw such an inference. Moreover, as I have pointed out in the preceding chapter, the practical results of drawing such an inference are good only up to a point; beyond that point they are very often extremely bad.

We are now in a position to draw a few tentative and fragmentary conclusions about the nature of the world and our relation to it and to one another. To the casual observer, the world seems to be made up of great numbers of independent existents, some of which possess life and some consciousness. From very early times philosophers suspected that this common-sense view was, in part at least,

BELIEFS

illusory. More recently investigators, trained in the discipline of mathematical physics and equipped with instruments of precision, have made observations from which it could be inferred that all the apparently independent existents in the world were built up of a limited number of patterns of identical units of energy. An ultimate physical identity underlies the apparent physical diversity of the world. Moreover, all apparently independent existents are in fact interdependent. Meanwhile the mystics had shown that investigators, trained in the discipline of recollection and meditation, could obtain direct experience of a spiritual unity underlying the apparent diversity of independent consciousness. They made it clear that what seemed to be the ultimate fact of personality was in reality not an ultimate fact, and that it was possible for individuals to transcend the limitations of personality and to merge their private consciousness into a greater, impersonal consciousness underlying the personal mind.

Some have denied the very possibility of non-personal consciousness. McTaggart, for example, asserts that 'there cannot be experience which is not experienced by a self, because it seems evident, not as part of the meaning of the terms, but as a synthetic truth about experience. This truth is ultimate. It cannot be defended against attacks, but it seems beyond doubt. The more clearly we realize the nature of experience, or of knowledge, volition and emotion, the more clearly, it is submitted, does it appear that any of them are impossible except as the experience of a self.' This brings us back, once more, to the connection between knowing and being. To those on the common levels of being, it does indeed 'seem evident, as a synthetic truth about experience,' that all experience must be experienced by a self. For such people 'this truth is ultimate.' But it is not ultimate to people who have chosen to undertake the mystic's training in virtue and in

ENDS AND MEANS

recollection and in meditation. For these it is evident, 'as a synthetic truth about experience,' legitimately inferred from the empirical facts of their direct intuition, that there is an experience which is not the personal experience of a self. Such experience is not properly emotion, nor volition, nor even knowledge of the ordinary kind. Emotion, volition and knowledge are the forms of experience known to selves on the common levels of being. The experience known to selves who choose to fulfil the ethical and intellectual conditions upon which it is possible for an individual to pass to another level of being, is not their own emotion, their own volition, their own knowledge, but an unnamed and perhaps indescribable consciousness of a different kind, a consciousness in which the subject-object relation no longer exists and which no longer belongs to the experiencing self.

The physical world of our daily experience is a private universe quarried out of a total reality which the physicists infer to be far greater than it. This private universe is different, not only from the real world, whose existence we are able to infer, even though we cannot directly apprehend it, but also from the private universes inhabited by other animals—universes which we can never penetrate, but concerning whose nature we can, as Von Uexkull has done, make interesting speculative guesses. Each type of living creature inhabits a universe whose nature is determined and whose boundaries are imposed by the special inadequacies of its sense organs and its intelligence. In man, intelligence has been so far developed that he is able to infer the existence and even, to some extent, the nature of the real world outside his private universe. The nature of the sense organs and intelligence of living beings is imposed by biological necessity or convenience. The instruments of knowledge are good enough to enable their owners to survive. Less inadequate instru-

BELIEFS

nents of knowledge might not only lead to no biological advantage but might actually constitute a biological handicap. Individual human beings have been able to transcend the limitations of man's private universe only to the extent that they are relieved from biological pressure. An individual is relieved from biological pressure in two ways: from without, thanks to the efforts of others, and from within, thanks to his own efforts. If he is to transcend the limitations of man's private universe he must be a member of a community which gives him protection against the inclemencies of the environment and makes it easy for him to supply his physical wants. But this is not enough. He must also train himself in the art of being dispassionate and disinterested, must cultivate intellectual curiosity for its own sake and not for what he, as an animal, can get out of it.

The modern conception of man's intellectual relationship to the universe was anticipated by the Buddhist doctrine that desire is the source of illusion. To the extent that it has overcome desire, a mind is free from illusion. This is true not only of the man of science, but also of the artist and the philosopher. Only the disinterested mind can transcend common sense and pass beyond the boundaries of animal or average-sensual human life. The mystic exhibits disinterestedness in the highest degree possible to human beings and is therefore able to transcend ordinary limitations more completely than the man of science, the artist or the philosopher. That which he discovers beyond the frontiers of the average sensual man's universe is a spiritual reality underlying and uniting all apparently separate existents—a reality with which he can merge himself and from which he can draw moral and even physical powers which, by ordinary standards, can only be described as supernormal.

The ultimate reality discoverable by those who choose

ENDS AND MEANS

to modify their being, so that they can have direct knowledge of it, is not, as we have seen, a personality. Since it is not personal, it is illegitimate to attribute to it ethical qualities. 'God is not good,' said Eckhart. 'I am good.' Goodness is the means by which men and women can overcome the illusion of being completely independent existents and can raise themselves to a level of being upon which it becomes possible, by recollection and meditation, to realize the fact of their oneness with ultimate reality, to know and in some measure actually associate themselves with it. The ultimate reality is 'the peace of God which passeth all understanding'; goodness is the way by which it can be approached. 'Finite beings,' in the words of Royce, 'are always such as they are in virtue of an *inattention* which at present blinds them to their actual relations to God and to one another.' That inattention is the fruit, in Buddhist language, of desire. We fail to attend to our true relations with ultimate reality and, through ultimate reality, with our fellow-beings, because we prefer to attend to our animal nature and to the business of getting on in the world. That we can never completely ignore the animal in us or its biological needs is obvious. Our separateness is not wholly an illusion. The element of specificity in things is a brute fact of experience. Diversity cannot be reduced to complete identity even in scientific and philosophical theory, still less in life which is lived with bodies, that is to say, with particular patternings of the ultimately identical units of energy. It is impossible in the nature of things, that no attention should be given to the animal in us; but in the circumstances of civilized life, it is certainly unnecessary to give all or most of our attention to it. Goodness is the method by which we divert our attention from this singularly wearisome topic of our animality and our individual separateness. Recollection and meditation assist goodness in two ways: by producing,

BELIEFS

in Babbitt's words, 'a suprarational concentration of will' and by making it possible for the mind to realize, not only theoretically, but also by direct intuition, that the private universe of the average sensual man is not identical with the universe as a whole. Conversely, of course, goodness aids meditation by giving detachment from animality and so making it possible for the mind to pay attention to its actual relationship with ultimate reality and to other individuals. Goodness, meditation, the mystical experience and the ultimate impersonal reality discovered in mystical experience are organically related. This fact disposes of the fears expressed by Dr. Albert Schweitzer in his recent book on Indian thought. Mysticism, he contends, is the correct world view; but, though correct, it is unsatisfactory in ethical content. The ultimate reality of the world is not moral ('God is not good') and the mystic who unites himself with ultimate reality is uniting himself with a non-moral being, therefore is not himself moral. But this is mere verbalism and ignores the actual facts of experience. It is impossible for the mystic to pay attention to his real relation to God and to his fellows, unless he has previously detached his attention from his animal nature and the business of being socially successful. But he cannot detach his attention from these things except by the consistent and conscious practice of the highest morality. God is not good; but if I want to have even the smallest knowledge of God, I must be good at least in some slight measure; and if I want as full a knowledge of God as it is possible for human beings to have, I must be as good as it is possible for human beings to be. Virtue is the essential preliminary to the mystical experience. And this is not all. There is not even any theoretical incompatibility between an ultimate reality, which is impersonal and therefore not moral, and the existence of a moral order on the human level. Scientific investigation has shown that the world is a diversity under-

ENDS AND MEANS

lain by an identity of physical substance; the mystical experience testifies to the existence of a spiritual unity underlying the diversity of separate consciousnesses. Concerning the relation between the underlying physical unity and the underlying spiritual unity it is hard to express an opinion. Nor is it necessary, in the present context, that we should express one. For our present purposes the important fact is that it is possible to detect a physical and a spiritual unity underlying the independent existents (to some extent merely apparent, to some extent real, at any rate for beings on our plane of existence), of which our common-sense universe is composed. Now, it is a fact of experience that we can either emphasize our separateness from other beings and the ultimate reality of the world or emphasize our oneness with them and it. To some extent at least, our will is free in this matter. Human beings are creatures who, in so far as they are animals and persons, tend to regard themselves as independent existents, connected at most by purely biological ties, but who, in so far as they rise above animality and personality, are able to perceive that they are interrelated parts of physical and spiritual wholes incomparably greater than themselves. For such beings the fundamental moral commandment is: You shall realize your unity with all being. But men cannot realize their unity with others and with ultimate reality unless they practise the virtues of love and understanding. Love, compassion and understanding or intelligence—these are the primary virtues in the ethical system, the virtues organically correlated with what may be called the scientific-mystical conception of the world. Ultimate reality is impersonal and non-ethical; but if we would realize our true relations with ultimate reality and our fellow-beings, we must practise morality and (since no personality can learn to transcend itself unless it is reasonably free from external compulsion) respect the

BELIEFS

personality of others. Belief in a personal, moral God has led only too frequently to theoretical dogmatism and practical intolerance—to a consistent refusal to respect personality and to the commission in the name of the divinely moral person of every kind of iniquity.

‘The fact of the instability of evil,’ in Professor Whitehead’s words, ‘is the moral order of the world.’ Evil is that which makes for separateness; and that which makes for separateness is self-destructive. This self-destruction of evil may be sudden and violent, as when murderous hatred results in a conflict that leads to the death of the hater; it may be gradual, as when a degenerative process results in impotence or extinction; or it may be reformatory, as when a long course of evil-doing results in all concerned becoming so sick of destruction and degeneration that they decide to change their ways, thus transforming evil into good.

The evolutionary history of life clearly illustrates the instability of evil in the sense in which it has been defined above. Biological specialization may be regarded as a tendency on the part of a species to insist on its separateness; and the result of specialization, as we have seen, is either negatively disastrous, in the sense that it precludes the possibility of further biological progress, or positively disastrous, in the sense that it leads to the extinction of the species. In the same way intra-specific competition may be regarded as the expression of a tendency on the part of related individuals to insist on their separateness and independence; the effects of intra-specific competition are, as we have seen, almost wholly bad. Conversely, the qualities which have led to biological progress are the qualities which make it possible for individual beings to escape from their separateness—intelligence and the tendency to co-operate. Love and understanding are valuable even on the biological level. Hatred, unawareness,

ENDS AND MEANS

stupidity and all that makes for increase of separateness are the qualities that, as a matter of historical fact, have led either to the extinction of a species, or to its becoming a living fossil, incapable of making further biological progress.

Chapter XV

ETHICS

EVERY cosmology has its correlated ethic. The ethic that is correlated with the cosmology outlined in the preceding chapter has, as its fundamental principles, these propositions: Good is that which makes for unity; Evil is that which makes for separateness. Relating these terms to the phraseology employed in the first chapters, we can say that separateness is attachment and that without non-attachment no individual can achieve unity either with God or, through God, with other individuals. In the paragraphs that follow I shall try to illustrate the application of our ethical principles in life.

Good and evil exist on the plane of the body and its sensations, on the plane of the emotions, and on the plane of the intellect. In practice these planes cannot be separated. Events occurring on one of the planes have their counterpart in events occurring upon the other planes of our being. It is always necessary to bear this fact in mind when we classify phenomena as physical, emotional or intellectual. But provided that we bear it in mind, there is no harm in our speaking in this way. This particular classification, like every other, fails to do full justice to the complexities of real life; but it has the compensating merit of being very convenient.

Let us begin by considering good and evil on the plane of the body. In general it may be said that any very intense physical sensation, whether pleasurable or painful, tends to cause the individual who feels it to identify himself with that sensation. He ceases even to be himself and

ENDS AND MEANS

becomes only a part of his body—the pain-giving or pleasure-giving organ. Self-transcendence thus becomes doubly difficult—though of course by no means impossible, as is proved by many examples of equanimity and non-attachment under suffering and under intense enjoyment. In general, however, excess of pain as of pleasure makes for separateness. All the oriental contemplatives are emphatic in their insistence on bodily health as a condition of spiritual union with ultimate reality. Among Christians there are two schools of thought—that which recommends mortification and that which stresses the importance of health. Pascal may be cited as a representative of the first school, and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* as a representative of the second. For Pascal, sickness is the truly Christian condition; for, by mechanically freeing men from some, at least, of the passions, it delivers them from all manner of temptations and distractions, and prepares them for living the kind of life which, according to Christian ethical theory, they ought to live. Pascal ignores the fact that sickness may create as many temptations and distractions as it removes—distractions in the form of discomfort and pain, temptations in the form of an almost irresistible impulse to think exclusively of oneself. There is, however, an element of truth in the Pascalian doctrine. When not excessive, sickness or physical defect may act as a reminder that ‘the things of this world’ are not quite so important as the animal and the social climber in us imagine them to be. A mind which has made this discovery and which then succeeds, as a result of suitable training, in ignoring the distractions of pain and overcoming the temptation to think exclusively of its sick body, has gone far to achieve that ‘suprarational concentration of the will,’ at which the religious self-education aims. In proclaiming the value of sickness, Pascal is advocating the

ETHICS

physiological method of training through the mastery of pain. We have seen already that this method is a dangerous one. Only too frequently pain is not mastered, but achieves mastery—leads to attachment rather than non-attachment.

This being so, we can understand why the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* should have taken the opposite view to Pascal's. For him, sickness is a serious obstacle in the way of true devotion to God and must be reckoned accordingly as a form of sin. The passage in which he comments on certain symptoms of what we should now call 'neurosis' is of such interest that I make no excuse for quoting it in its entirety. 'Some men,' he writes, 'are so cumbered in nice curious customs in bodily bearing that when they shall aught hear, they shall writhe their heads on one side quaintly, and up with the chin: they gape with their mouths as they should hear with their mouth and not with their ears. Some when they should speak point with their fingers, or on their own breasts, or on theirs that they speak to. Some can neither sit still, stand still, nor lie still, unless they be either wagging with their feet, or else somewhat doing with their hands. Some row with their arms in time of their speaking, as they needed to swim over a great water. Some be ever more smiling and laughing at every other word that they speak, as they were giggling girls and nice japing jugglers. . . . I say not that all these unseemly practices be great sins in themselves, nor yet all these that do them be great sinners themselves. But I say if that these unseemly and unordained practices be governors of that man that doth them, insomuch that he may not leave them when he will, then I say that they be tokens of pride and curiosity of wit, and of unordained showing and covetysse of knowing. And specially they be very tokens of unstableness of heart and unrestfulness of mind, and specially of the lacking of

ENDS AND MEANS

the work of this book ' (i.e. the work of meditation as a training for the mystic experience).

This assimilation of physical deficiency to sin may seem somewhat ruthless and unfeeling. But if sin is to be judged by its results, then, of course, the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* is quite right in reckoning among sins any bodily states and habits which cause a man to concentrate on his own separateness, hinder him from paying attention to his true relation with God and his fellows and so make the conscious actualization of union with them impossible. On the plane of the body, sickness must generally be counted as a sin. For by sickness and pain as well as by extreme pleasure, the body insists on its separateness and all but compels the mind to identify itself with it.

The saying that to him that has shall be given and from him that has not shall be taken away even all that he has, is a hard one; but it happens to be an extremely succinct and accurate summary of the facts of moral life. Those who sin physically by having some kind of bodily defect may be made to pay for that defect in ways that are emotional and intellectual as well as physical. Some sick people are capable of making the almost superhuman effort that will transform the disaster of bodily defect into spiritual triumph. From the rest even that which they have, intellectually and emotionally, is taken away. Why? Because, on the plane of the body, they are among those who have not. 'Men may be excusable,' says Spinoza, 'and nevertheless miss happiness, and be tormented in many ways. A horse is excusable for being a horse and not a man; nevertheless he must needs be a horse and not a man. He who cannot rule his passions, nor hold them in check out of respect for the law, while he may be excusable on the ground of weakness, is nevertheless incapable of enjoying conformity of spirit and knowledge

ETHICS

and love of God; and he is lost inevitably.' Weakness may be forgiven; but so long as it continues to be present, no amount of forgiveness can prevent it from having the ordinary results of weakness. These results are manifest in the present life and, if there should be some form of survival of bodily death, will doubtless be manifest in any subsequent existence.

Sex is a physical activity that is also and at the same time an emotional and an intellectual activity. If I choose to consider it here, it is not because I regard it as more physical than emotional or intellectual, but merely for the sake of convenience. It is an empirical fact of observation and experience that sexual activities sometimes make for a realization of the individual's unity with another individual and, through that other individual, with the reality of the world; sometimes, on the contrary, for an intensification of individual separateness. In other words, sex leads sometimes to non-attachment and sometimes to attachment, is sometimes good and sometimes evil.

On the plane of the body, sex is evil when it takes the form of a physical addiction. (All that can be said in this context about sex is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the other forms of physical addiction—to alcohol, for example, to morphia and cocaine.) Like habit-forming drugs, habit-forming sex is evil because it compels the mind to identify itself with a physical sensation and prevents it from thinking of anything but its separate animal existence. Addiction cannot be destroyed by satiation, but tends, if indulged, to become more than a mere habit—a demoniac possession. This is, of course, especially true in the case of civilized and highly conscious individuals—individuals who 'know better,' but who have nevertheless permitted themselves to become enslaved to their addiction. For uncivilized members of what J. D. Unwin has called 'zoistic' societies, or of the zoistic strata of civilized societies, sexual addiction

ENDS AND MEANS

is merely a pleasant habit that they indulge with a good conscience. It prevents them from putting forth that energy that will enable them to become conscious of themselves, to think about the strange world around them and to achieve civilization; but as they are unaware of the fact, they don't mind. Not so with civilized and self-conscious men and women. Of such people it cannot be said that 'they know not what they do.' They know only too well—know exactly what they are doing and exactly what they are losing in the process. For them the addiction is a real possession. The demon that inhabits them compels them to do what they know will harm them and what, with the best part of their being, they do not want to do. The nature of this demoniac possession was described, with incomparable power, by Baudelaire in the *Fleurs du Mal*.

*Une nuit que j'étais près d'une affreuse Juive,
Comme au long d'un cadavre un cadavre étendu . . .*

Addiction persists—a true possession by a devil that malignantly wills the unhappiness of its victim—even when all physical pleasure has been lost, even in the teeth of disgust and loathing. Like virtue, it is its own reward; and the reward it brings is misery and the torment of body and mind.

*Jamais vous ne pourrez assouvir votre rage,
Et votre châtement naîtra de vos plaisirs.*

*Jamais un rayon frais n'éclaira vos cavernes;
Par les fentes des murs des miasmes fiévreux
Filent en s'enflammant ainsi que des lanternes
Et pénètrent vos corps de leurs parfums affreux.*

*L'âpre stérilité de votre jouissance
Altère votre soif et roidit votre peau,*

ETHICS

*Et le vent furibond de la concupiscence
Fait claquer votre chair ainsi qu'un vieux drapeau.*

*Loin des peuples vivants, errantes, condamnées,
A travers les déserts courez comme des loups;
Faites votre destin, âmes désordonnées,
Et fuyez l'infini que vous portez en vous.*

The last line irresistibly recalls Royce's phrase to the effect that 'finite beings are always such as they are by virtue of an *inattention* which at present blinds them to their actual relations to God and to one another.' The addict is blinded by his addiction to 'the infinite that he carries within him,' to 'his actual relations to God' and other beings. At the same time, he is generally aware, if only by a kind of nostalgia, by a hopeless longing for what he lacks, that 'the infinite' exists within him and that his 'actual relations to God' are those of a part to its proper whole. He is aware of the fact and he suffers from it; and at the same time the demon he has conjured up, that it may possess him, deliberately increases his suffering by forcing him 'to fly from the infinite within him,' to refuse, consciously and deliberately, to pay attention to 'his actual relations with God.'

It is not only when it takes the form of physical addiction that sex is evil. It is also evil when it manifests itself as a way of satisfying the lust for power or the climber's craving for position and social distinction. Love—and this is true not only of sexual, but also of maternal love—may be merely a device for imposing the lover's will upon the beloved. Between the Marquis de Sade, with his whips and penknives, and the doting but tyrannous mother, who slaves for her son in order that she may the more effectively dominate him, there are obvious differences in method and degree, but not a fundamental difference in kind. In such cases, the active party, by insisting on the right to bully,

ENDS AND MEANS

command and direct, thereby insists upon his or her separateness. At the same time, by refusing to respect the other's personality, the domineering lover makes it impossible for the beloved victim to pay attention to that '*infini que vous portez en vous.*' Addiction degrades only the addict. The lust for power harms not only the person who lusts, but also the person or persons at whose expense the lust is satisfied. Non-attachment becomes impossible for both parties.

Sex as a means for satisfying social vanity is only less evil than sex as a means for satisfying the lust for power. There are people who marry, not a person, but money, a title, social influence. Sex here is the instrument of avarice and ambition, passions that are in the highest degree separative and reality-obscuring. There are others who marry beauty or distinction for the sole purpose of flaunting their exclusive possession of it before the eyes of an envying world. This is a special form of the lust for ownership, an avarice whose object is, not money, but a human being and that human being's socially valuable qualities. Such lust for ownership is as blinding and as separative as ordinary avarice, and can do almost as much harm to the owned person as the maternally or sexually conditioned lust for power can do to its much loved and much tormented victim.

Sex is not always addiction, is not always used as an instrument of domination or as a means for expressing vanity and snobbishness. It is also and at least as frequently the method whereby unpossessive and unselfish individuals achieve union with one another and indirectly with the world about them. 'All the world loves a lover'; and, conversely, a lover loves all the world. 'That violence whereby sometimes a man doteth upon one creature is but a little spark of that love, even towards all, which lurketh in his nature. When we dote upon the perfections and

ETHICS

beauties of some one creature, we do not love that too much, but other things too little. Never was anything in this world loved too much, but many things have been loved in a false way, and all in too short a measure.' Traherne might have added (what many poets and novelists have remarked) that, when 'we dote upon the perfections and beauties of some one creature,' we frequently find ourselves moved to love other creatures. Moreover, to be in love is, in many cases, to have achieved a state of being, in which it becomes possible to have direct intuition of the essentially lovely nature of ultimate reality. 'What a world would this be, were everything beloved as it ought to be!' For many people, everything is beloved as it ought to be, only when they are in love with 'some one creature.' The cynical wisdom of the folk affirms that love is blind. But in reality, perhaps, the blind are those who are not in love and who therefore fail to perceive how beautiful the world is and how adorable.

We must now consider very briefly the relation of sexual activity to mental activity in individuals and to the cultural condition of society. This subject was discussed by the late Dr. J. D. Unwin, whose monumental *Sex and Culture* is a work of the highest importance. Unwin's conclusions, which are based upon an enormous wealth of carefully sifted evidence, may be summed up as follows. All human societies are in one or another of four cultural conditions: zoistic, manistic, deistic, rationalistic. Of these societies the zoistic displays the least amount of mental and social energy, the rationalistic the most. Investigation shows that the societies exhibiting the least amount of energy are those where pre-nuptial continence is not imposed and where the opportunities for sexual indulgence after marriage are greatest. The cultural condition of a society rises in exact proportion as it imposes

ENDS AND MEANS

pre-nuptial and post-nuptial restraints upon sexual opportunity.

‘All the deistic societies insisted on pre-nuptial chastity; conversely all the societies which insisted on pre-nuptial chastity, were in the deistic condition.

‘Is there any causal relationship between the compulsory continence and the thought, reflection and energy which produced the change from one cultural condition to another?’

‘One thing is certain: if a causal relation exists, the continence must have caused the thought, not the thought the continence.’

Again, ‘the power of thought is inherent; similarly the power to display social energy is inherent; but neither mental nor social energy can be manifested except under certain conditions.’ These conditions arise when sexual opportunity is reduced to a minimum. Civilized societies may be divided into different strata, representing every type of cultural condition from zoistic to rationalistic. ‘The group within the society which suffers the greatest continence displays the greatest energy and dominates the society.’ The dominating group determines the behaviour of the society as a whole. So long as at least one stratum of a society imposes pre-nuptial continence upon its members and limits post-nuptial sexual opportunity by means of strict monogamy, the society as a whole will behave as a civilized society.

The energy produced by sexual continence starts as ‘expansive energy’ and results in the society becoming aggressive, conquering its less energetic neighbours, sending out colonies, developing its commerce and the like. But ‘when the rigorous tradition (of sexual restraint) is inherited by a number of generations, the energy becomes productive.’ Productive energy does not spend itself exclusively in expansion; it also goes into science, speculation,

ETHICS

art, social reform. Where productive energy persists for some time, a factor which Dr. Unwin calls 'human entropy' comes into play. Human entropy is the inherent tendency, manifested as soon as the suitable social conditions are created, towards increased refinement and accuracy. 'No society can display productive social energy unless a new generation inherits a social system under which sexual opportunity is reduced to a minimum. If such a system be preserved a richer and yet richer tradition will be created, refined by human entropy.'

As a matter of brute historical fact, no civilized society has tolerated for very long the limitation to a minimum of its sexual opportunities. Within a few generations, the rules imposing absolute pre-nuptial continence upon females and absolutely monogamous forms of marriage are relaxed. When this happens, the society or the class loses its energy and is replaced by another society, or another class, whose members have made themselves energetic by practising sexual continence. 'Sometimes,' writes Dr. Unwin, 'a man has been heard to declare that he wishes both to enjoy the advantages of high culture and to abolish compulsory continence. The inherent nature of the human organism, however, seems to be such that these desires are incompatible, even contradictory. . . . Any human society is free to choose, either to display great energy or to enjoy sexual freedom; the evidence is that it cannot do both for more than one generation.'

We have seen that, as a matter of historical fact, no society has consented to retain the tradition of pre-nuptial continence and absolute monogamy for very long. But it is also a matter of historical fact that these traditions have always hitherto been associated with the oppression of women and children. In deistic societies, wives have been regarded as slaves or mere chattels, having no legal entity. Custom and law have placed them at the mercy of their

ENDS AND MEANS

husbands. Discussing this fact, Dr. Unwin hazards the opinion 'that it was the unequal fate of women, not the compulsory continence, that caused the downfall of absolute monogamy. No society has yet succeeded in regulating the relations between the sexes in such a way as to enable sexual opportunity to remain at a minimum for an extended period. The inference I draw from the historical evidence is that, if ever such a result should be desired, the sexes must first be placed on a footing of complete legal equality.'

In this very brief summary I have certainly done much less than justice to Dr. Unwin's very remarkable book; but though doing it less than justice, I do not think that I have misrepresented its main conclusions. The evidence for these conclusions is so full, that it is difficult to see how they can be rejected. They are conclusions which will certainly seem unpalatable to the middle-aged relics of a liberal generation. Such liberals are liberals, not only politically, but also in the sense in which Shakespeare's 'liberal shepherds' (the ones who called wild arums by a grosser name than dead-men's fingers) were liberal. They have been 'heard to declare,' very frequently and loudly, that they 'wish to enjoy the advantages of high culture and to abolish compulsory continence.' Living as they do upon the capital of energy accumulated by a previous generation of monogamists, whose wives came to them as *virgines intactae*, they can make the best of both worlds during their own lifetime. Dr. Unwin's researches have made it certain, however, that it will be impossible for their children to go on making the best of both worlds.

If Dr. Unwin's conclusions are well founded—and it is difficult to believe that they are not—how do they fit into our general ethical scheme? The first significant fact to be noticed is that 'the continence caused the thought, not the thought the continence.' Zoistic societies live in a

ETHICS

condition of animal solidarity. In Dr. Unwin's words, 'we begin with a society in which all the individuals are locked together by forces we do not understand; such a society displays no energy.' Now, this animal solidarity has certain merits; it is preferable, for example, to the animal individualism of unrestricted intra-specific competition. But these merits are sub-ethical; in other words, animal solidarity is below good and evil. People on the zoistic level are too much preoccupied with, and too completely de-energized by, unrestricted sexual indulgence to be able to pay attention to 'their actual relations with God and with one another.' Awareness is the condition of any moral behaviour superior to that of animals. The individual cannot transcend himself unless he first learns to be conscious of himself and of his relations with other selves and with the world. A measure of sexual continence is the pre-condition of awareness and of other forms of mental energy, conative and emotional as well as cognitive. But the pre-condition of moral behaviour need not itself be moral. As a matter of historical fact, the energy released by sexual continence has frequently been directed towards thoroughly immoral ends. Mental and social energy is comparable to the energy of falling water; it can be used for any purpose that men choose to put it to—for bullying the weak and exploiting the poor just as well as for exploring the secrets of nature, for creating masterpieces of art or for establishing union with ultimate reality.

Chastity is one of the major virtues inasmuch as, without chastity, societies lack energy and individuals are condemned to perpetual unawareness, attachment and animality. In another sense, however, chastity can rank only as a minor virtue; for, along with such other minor virtues as courage, prudence, temperance and the like, it can be used solely as a means for increasing the efficiency of

ENDS AND MEANS

evil-doing. Unless they are directed by the major virtues of love and intelligence, the minor virtues are not virtues at all, but aids to wickedness. Historically, puritanism has been associated with militarism and capitalism, with war and persecution and economic exploitation, with every form of power-seeking and cruelty. Chastity is not necessarily correlated with charity; on the contrary, the human organism is so constituted that there would seem to be a natural correlation between compulsory continence and energy that is malevolent at least as often as it is well-intentioned. (On the political results of this correlation Dr. Vergin's *Sub-conscious Europe* may be consulted; the book contains an over-emphatic and therefore somewhat distorted statement of a good case.) This natural and, I might almost say, physiological tendency for chastity to be associated with uncharitableness is manifested not only during the period when the energy created by sexual restraint is 'expansive,' but also, though perhaps with diminished intensity, when it is 'productive.'

Chastity, then, is the necessary pre-condition to any kind of moral life superior to that of the animal. At the same time, the energy created by chastity has a natural tendency to be, on the whole, more evil than good. By fulfilling the conditions upon which, and upon which alone, the higher moral life is possible, we transform our nature in such a way that it becomes easier for us to behave immorally than to behave morally. Our human nature is such that, if we are to realize the highest ethical ideals, we must do something which automatically makes the realization of those ideals more difficult. Historically, progressiveness has always been associated with aggressiveness—the potentiality of greater good with the actuality of greater evil. This association 'comes naturally' to beings constituted as we are, and can be broken only as the result of deliberate choice, directed by the highest ideals and the

ETHICS

fullest knowledge of facts. As usual, the remedy is to be sought in awareness and good will. Only by consistently applying the major virtues of charity and intelligence can we prevent the minor, but indispensable, virtue of chastity from filling the world with actual evil as well as potential good. Dr. Unwin suggests that the modern world is confronted by only two alternatives: it may choose to be continent and energetic; or it may prefer sexual indulgence to mental and social energy. It would be truer to say that there are three choices. First of all, we can increase pre-nuptial and post-nuptial sexual opportunity, in which case our mental and social energy will decline. Alternatively, we can tighten up the system of sexual restraint, with a view to increasing the amount, without improving the ethical quality, of available social energy. This is the policy which is at present being pursued by the dictators of all the totalitarian states. Empirically and by a kind of rule of thumb, these men know very clearly that there is a correlation between puritanism and energy—just as they know (as was pointed out in the chapter on Education) that there is a correlation between authoritarian discipline in youth and a militaristic psychology in later life. By combining a system of increased sexual restraint with a system of authoritarian education, the present rulers of totalitarian societies are providing themselves and their successors with a new generation of highly energetic militarists. Significantly enough, in Germany and Italy the tightening up of sexual restraints has been accompanied by a lowering of the status of women. In the past, as Dr. Unwin has pointed out, absolute pre-nuptial chastity and absolute monogamy have always been associated with the subjection of women. Hitler and Mussolini are merely employing the old means to produce the old end—an increase of energy. This energy, as we have seen, has a natural tendency to take undesirable

ENDS AND MEANS

forms; but, not content with this spontaneous evil, the dictators are using all the means at their disposal to direct their subjects' energy along the channels of aggressive imperialism.

Finally, there is a third alternative—an alternative which has never been tried before. We can retain pre-nuptial chastity and absolute monogamy, at any rate for the ruling classes of our societies; but instead of associating these practices with the subjection of women, we can make women the legal equals of men. In this way, as Dr. Unwin suggests, and in this way only, will it be possible to avoid that revolt against chastity which, in the past, has resulted in the decline of once energetic societies. By making compulsory chastity tolerable, such measures will prolong the period during which a society produces energy—will prolong it, perhaps, indefinitely. But they will do little or nothing to improve the ethical quality of the energy produced. Even the process which Dr. Unwin calls 'human entropy' promises no ethical improvement—only increasing refinement and accuracy of thought and its expression. Hitherto, as history shows, sexual restraint has had the following results. The moral life has been made possible and some at least of this potential good has been actualized. Meanwhile, however, in the process of creating the potentiality for good, much evil has invariably been produced. Our problem is to discover a way to eliminate that evil, a way to direct all the energy produced by sexual restraint along desirable channels.

In the preceding chapters I have described the kind of political, economic, educational, religious and philosophical devices that must be used if we are ever to achieve the good ends that we all profess to desire. The energy created by sexual restraint is the motive power which makes it possible for us to conceive those desirable ends and to think out the means for realizing them. We see,

ETHICS

then, that the particular problem of moralizing the energy produced by continence is the same as the general problem of realizing ideal ends. This being so, it is unnecessary for me to discuss it any further. The matter can be summed up in a couple of sentences. The third and only satisfactory solution of the problem of sex is that which combines the acceptance, at least by the ruling classes, of pre-nuptial chastity and absolute monogamy with complete legal equality between women and men and with the adoption of a political, economic, educational, religious, philosophical and ethical system of the kind described in this book.

I have discussed the problem of good and evil on the plane of the body and the problem of good and evil in relation to sex, as manifested on all the planes of being. We must now consider good and evil on the plane of the emotions. There is very little that need be said in this context. All the familiar deadly sins are the product of separate emotions. Anger, envy, fear—these insist on the various aspects of our animal separateness from one another. Sloth exists on all the planes, and can be physical, emotional or intellectual. In all its forms sloth is a kind of negative malignity—a refusal to do what ought to be done.

Some vices are animal, some are strictly human. The human vices, which are in general the most dangerous, the most fruitful in undesirable results, are the various lusts for power, social position and ownership. Pride, vanity, ambition and avarice are attachments to objects of desire which have existence only in human societies. Being completely dissociated from the body, such vices as lust for power and avarice are able to manifest themselves in a bewildering variety of forms and with an energy that is immune from the satiety which occasionally interrupts all physical addictions. The permutations and combinations of lust or of gluttony are strictly limited and their mani-

ENDS AND MEANS

festations are as discontinuous as physical appetite. It is far otherwise with the lust for power or the lust for possessions. These cravings are spiritual, therefore are unremittingly separative and evil; have no dependence on the body, therefore can assume almost any form.

Under the existing dispensation, popular morality does not condemn the lust for power or the craving for social pre-eminence. European and American children are brought up to admire the social climber and worship his success, to envy the rich and eminent and at the same time to respect and obey them. In other words, the two correlated vices of ambition and sloth are held up as virtues. There can be no improvement in our world until people come to be convinced that the ambitious power-seeker is as disgusting as the glutton or the miser—that 'the last infirmity of noble mind' is just as much of an infirmity as avarice or cruelty (with one or both of which, incidentally, it is very often associated), just as squalidly an addiction, on its human plane, as any physical addiction to drink or sexual perversion.

The human or spiritual vices are the most harmful in their results and the hardest to resist. (La Rochefoucauld remarks that men frequently desert love for ambition, but very rarely desert ambition for love.) Furthermore, their spiritual nature makes it hard for them to be distinguished, in certain of their manifestations, from virtues. This difficulty becomes particularly great when power, wealth and social position are represented as being means to desirable ends. (In the story of the temptation in the wilderness, Satan attempts to confuse the moral issue in precisely this way.) But good ends, that is to say a state of greatest possible unification, can be achieved only by the use of good, that is to say of intrinsically unifying means. Bad means—activities, in other words, that produce attachment and are intrinsically separative—cannot

ETHICS

produce unification. The lust for power is essentially separative; therefore it is not by indulging this lust that men can achieve the good results at which they profess to aim. The political techniques by means of which ambition can be restrained have been discussed in the chapter on Inequality; the educational and religious techniques, in the two succeeding chapters. We cannot expect that any of these techniques will be very successful, so long as ambition continues to be popularly regarded, as it is at present, as a virtue that should be implanted in the growing child and carefully fostered by precept and example.

We have now to consider good and evil as manifested upon the intellectual plane. Intelligence, as we have seen, is one of the major virtues. Without intelligence, charity and the minor virtues can achieve very little.

Intelligence may be classified as belonging to two kinds, according to the nature of its objects. There is the intelligence which consists in awareness of, and ability to deal with, things and events in the external world; and there is the intelligence which consists in awareness of, and ability to deal with, the phenomena of the inner world. In other words, there is intelligence in relation to the not-self and there is intelligence in relation to the self. The completely intelligent person is intelligent both in regard to himself and to the outer world. But completely intelligent people are unhappily rare. Many men and women are capable of dealing very effectively with the external world in its practical, common-sense aspects, and are at the same time incapable of understanding or dealing with abstract ideas, logical relations or their own emotional and moral problems. Others again may possess a specialized competence in science, art or philosophy and yet be barbarously ignorant of their own nature and motives and quite incompetent to control their impulses. In popular language, 'a philosopher' is a man who behaves with restraint and

ENDS AND MEANS

equanimity—one who loves wisdom so much that he actually lives like a wise man. In modern professional language a philosopher is one who discusses the problems of epistemology. It is not thought necessary that he should live like a wise man. The biographies of the great metaphysicians often make extremely depressing reading. Spite, envy and vanity are only too frequently manifested by these professed lovers of wisdom. Some are not even immune from the most childish animalism. Nietzsche's biographers record that, at the time when he was writing about the Superman, he was unable to control his appetite for jam and pastry; whenever, in his mountain retreat, a hamper of good things arrived for him from home, he would eat and eat until he had to go to bed with a bilious attack. Kant had a similar passion for crystallized fruit and, along with it, such an abhorrence for sickness and death that he refused to visit his friends when they were ill or ever to speak of them once they had died. In later life, moreover, he claimed a kind of infallibility, insisting that the boundaries of his system were the limits of philosophy itself and resenting all attempts by other thinkers to go further. The same childish self-esteem is observable in Hegel and many other thinkers of the greatest intellectual power. Such men are highly intelligent in certain directions, but profoundly stupid in others. This stupidity is, of course, a product of the will. Intelligent fools are people who have refused to apply their intelligence to the subject of themselves. There is also such a being as a wise fool. The wise fool is one who knows about himself and how to manage his passions and impulses, but who is incompetent to understand or deal with those wider, non-personal problems which can be solved only by the logical intellect. The wise fool does less harm than the intelligent fool and is personally capable of enlightenment. The intelligent fool, who has no

ETHICS

knowledge of, or control over, himself, cannot achieve enlightenment so long as he remains what he is. However, if he so wishes, he can cease to be an intelligent fool and become an intelligent wise man. An intelligent wise man is capable not only of achieving personal enlightenment, but also of helping whole societies to deal with their major problems of belief and practice. Under the present dispensation, the educational system is designed to produce the greatest possible number of intelligent fools. We inspire children with the wish to be intelligent about the phenomena of the external world and about abstract ideas and logical relations; at the same time we teach them the techniques by which this wish can be gratified. Meanwhile, however, we make very little effort to inspire them with the wish to be intelligent about themselves and, on the rare occasions when we do make this effort, we provide them with no devices for training the inward-turning intelligence to perform its task efficiently.

One cannot deal intelligently with any matter about which one is ignorant. If one is to deal intelligently with oneself one must be aware of one's real motives, of the secret sources of one's thoughts, feelings and actions, of the nature of one's sentiments, impulses and sensations and of the circumstances in which one is liable to behave well or badly. In general, it may be said that, on the intellectual plane, good is that which heightens awareness, especially awareness of oneself. No self can go beyond the limits of selfhood, either morally (by the practice of the virtues that break attachment) or mystically (by direct cognitive union with ultimate reality), unless it is fully aware of what it is, and why it is what it is. Self-transcendence is through self-consciousness. A human being who spends most of his waking life either day-dreaming, or in a state of mental dissipation, or else identifying himself with whatever he happens to be sensing, feeling, thinking or

ENDS AND MEANS

doing at the moment, cannot claim to be fully a person. McTaggart has objected that 'to call a conscious being a self (or personality) only when it was self-conscious would involve that each of us would gain and lose the right to the name many times a day.' Moreover, he adds, there is 'a more serious difficulty.' We are invited to define personality as being conscious of self. And consciousness of self is a complex characteristic which can be defined only when it is known what we mean by a self. Therefore, if self means the same on the two occasions when it enters into the statement, 'a self is that which is self-conscious,' we have a circular and unmeaning definition of selfness.' It is quite true that such a definition is circular and unmeaning. But the facts of personality are not adequately accounted for in such a definition. Personality is not, as we have seen, an absolutely independent existent; persons are interdependent parts of a greater whole. In the common-sense universe, however, they possess a relative autonomy. There are degrees in this relative autonomy. Only when it has attained to the highest of these degrees does a personality become able, as all the mystics bear witness, to transcend itself and merge into the ultimate impersonal reality substantial to the world. To say that 'a self is that which is self-conscious' is, of course, merely to make an unmeaning noise. But it is not absurd to say that 'there is an X (the totality of a human being's animal and conscious life) which emerges into selfness, or personality, when there is consciousness of X.' That this definition involves each of us gaining and losing the right to the name of a person many times a day is no objection to the definition. Such happens to be the nature of things. The greater part of the life of the greater number of human beings is sub-personal. They spend most of their time identified with thoughts, feelings and sensations which are less than themselves and which

ETHICS

lack even that relative autonomy from the external world and their own psychological and physiological machinery, belonging to a genuine full-grown person. This sub-personal existence can be terminated at will. Anybody who so desires and knows how to set about the task can live his life entirely on the personal level and, from the personal level, can pass, again if he so desires and knows how, to a super-personal level. This super-personal level is reached only during the mystical experience. There is, however, a state of being, rarely attained, but described by the greatest mystical writers of East and West, in which it is possible for a man to have a kind of double consciousness—to be both a full-grown person, having a complete knowledge of, and control over, his sensations, emotions and thoughts, and also, and at the same time, a more than personal being, in continuous intuitive relation with the impersonal principle of reality. (St. Teresa tells us that, in 'the seventh mansion,' she could be conscious of the mystical Light while giving her full attention to worldly business. Indian writers say that the same is true of those who have attained the highest degree of what they call *samadhi*.)

It is clear, then, that if we would transcend personality, we must first take the trouble to become persons. But we cannot become persons unless we make ourselves self-conscious. In one of the discourses attributed to the Buddha, we read an interesting passage about the self-possessed person. 'And how, brethren, is a brother self-possessed? . . . In looking forward and in looking back he acts composedly (*i.e.* with consciousness of what is being done, of the self who is doing and of the reasons for which the self is performing the act). In bending or stretching arm or body he acts composedly. In eating, drinking, chewing, swallowing, in relieving nature's needs, in going, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking,

ENDS AND MEANS

keeping silence, he acts composedly. That, brethren, is how a brother is self-possessed.'

In the last paragraphs of the chapter on Education I have described a technique of physical training (that developed by F. M. Alexander), which is valuable, among other reasons, as a means for increasing conscious control of the body and, in this way, raising a human being from a condition of physical unawareness to a state of physical self-consciousness and self-control. Such physical self-awareness and self-control leads to, and to some extent is actually a form of, mental and moral self-awareness and self-control.

Of the purely psychological methods of heightening the awareness of self it is unnecessary to say very much. Self-analysis, periodical analysis at the hands of others, habitual self-recollectedness and unremitting efforts to resist the temptation to become completely identified with the thoughts, feelings, sensations or actions of the moment—these are the methods which must be employed. If they are not already known, they can easily be reinvented by all who choose to think about the problem. There is nothing abstruse about the theory of these methods of heightening self-consciousness. The principle is simple. What is difficult, as always, is its application in practice. To know is relatively easy; to will and consistently to do is always hard.

It is sufficiently obvious that the systematic cultivation of self-awareness may as easily produce undesirable as desirable results. The development of personality may be regarded as an end in itself or, alternatively, as a means towards an ulterior end—the transcendence of personality through immediate cognition of ultimate reality and through moral action towards fellow individuals, action that is inspired and directed by this immediate cognition. Where personality is developed for its own sake, and not

ETHICS

in order that it may be transcended, there tends to be a raising of the barriers of separateness and an increase of egotism.

Under the Christian dispensation, personality has generally been developed in relation to the prevailing doctrines of sin and of personal salvation at the hands of a personal deity. The results have been on the whole distinctly unsatisfactory. Thus, the obsessive preoccupation with sin and its consequences, so characteristic of Protestantism in the generations immediately following the Reformation, only too frequently produced an obsessive preoccupation with the separate self and its lusts for power and possessions. Modern capitalism and imperialism have a number of different causes; but among these causes must be numbered the Protestant and Jansenist habit of brooding on sin, damnation and an angry God, arbitrarily dispensing or withholding grace and forgiveness.

It is interesting, in this context, to compare the orthodox Calvinist attitude towards sin with that which was taken up by such mystics as Eckhart or the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*. These writers did not minimize the significance of sin; on the contrary, they regarded it as the chief obstacle in the way of the soul's union with God. But they saw that sin was the fruit of self-will and that self-will, in Bradley's words, 'is opposition attempted by a finite subject against its proper whole.' The important thing, they perceived, was to get rid of self-will and to cultivate, as quickly as possible, a state of being, propitious to knowledge of, and union with, ultimate reality. Such a state of being, they found empirically, could be reached by the practice of virtue and the raising of consciousness, first to the level of self-awareness, then, by means of meditation, to awareness of God. Obsessive preoccupation with past sins, they perceived, could result only in preoccupation with the self which they were so anxious to

ENDS AND MEANS

transcend. For this reason there is no insistence in the writings of Eckhart and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* upon their own or other people's sinfulness. They do not talk about themselves as miserable sinners; nor do they advise others to do so. They know, of course, that men are sinners and that sin is a barrier standing between souls and their God. Therefore, they say, men should make themselves aware of their sins and, having done so, proceed to stop sinning; after which they should concentrate all their attention on God and ignore the extremely uninteresting and unprofitable subject of their past, sinful selves. 'It is a great grace of God,' says St. Teresa, 'to practise self-examination; but too much is as bad as too little, as they say; believe me, by God's help, we shall advance more by contemplating the Divinity than by keeping our eyes fixed on ourselves.' Modern theologians, such as Otto, have blamed Eckhart for not being sufficiently conscious of his sinfulness, and have contrasted him unfavourably in this respect with Luther,¹ who spent his early manhood in the terrified conviction that he was 'gallow-ripe.' It is legitimate to enquire how far this conviction of his own ripeness for the gallows was the cause of that later conviction, expressed so forcibly a few years later, that the German peasants were ripe for the gallows and deserved extermination and enslavement at the hands of the ruling classes. There is a logical and a psychological connection between obsession with one's own sins and obsession with those of others, between haunting terror of an angry personal God and an active desire to persecute in the name of that God. At the risk of wearying my reader, I must repeat, for the thousandth time, that the tree is known by its fruits. The fruits of such doctrines as are taught by Eckhart, the author of

¹ See *Mysticism East and West*, by Rudolf Otto (New York, 1932), p. 129.

ETHICS

The Cloud and the oriental mystics whom they so closely resemble, are peace, toleration and charity. The fruits of such doctrines as are taught by Luther and St. Augustine are war and the organized malice of religious persecution and the organized falsehood of dogmatism and censorship. On this point, it seems to me, the historical evidence is clear and explicit. Those who consider that the metaphysical theories of Luther and Augustine correspond more closely to the nature of ultimate reality than do the theories of Eckhart, Sankhara, or the Buddha must be ready to affirm the proposition that evil is the result of acting upon true beliefs about the universe and that good is the result of acting upon false beliefs. All the evidence, however, supports the opposite conclusion—that false beliefs result in evil and that true beliefs have fruits that are good. What we think determines what we are and do, and conversely, what we are and do determines what we think. False ideas result in wrong action; and the man who makes a habit of wrong action thereby limits his field of consciousness and makes it impossible for himself to think certain thoughts. In life, ethics and metaphysics are interdependent. But ethics include politics and economics; and whether ethical principles shall be applied well or badly or not at all depends on education and on religion in so far as it is a system of self-education. We see then, that, through ethics, all the activities of individuals and societies are related to their fundamental beliefs about the nature of the world. (In an age in which the fundamental beliefs of all or most members of a given society are the same, it is possible to discuss the problems of politics, or economics, or education, without making any explicit reference to these beliefs.) It is possible, because it is assumed by the author that the cosmology of all his readers will be the same as his own. But at the present time there are no axioms, no universally accepted postulates. In

ENDS AND MEANS

these circumstances a discussion of political, economic or educational problems, containing no reference to fundamental beliefs, is incomplete and even misleading. Such a discussion is like *Hamlet*, if not without the Prince of Denmark, at least without the Ghost or any reference to the murder of the Prince's father.

In the present volume I have tried to relate the problems of domestic and international politics, of war and economics, of education, religion and ethics, to a theory of the ultimate nature of reality. The subject is vast and complex; this volume is short and the knowledge and abilities of the author narrowly limited. It goes without saying that the task has been inadequately performed. Nevertheless, I make no apologies for attempting it. Even the fragmentary outline of a synthesis is better than no synthesis at all.

INDEX

- Abyssinia, Conquest of, 144, 201
 Acting, 205
 Acton, Lord, 238
 Advertising, 216 ff.
 Aggressiveness, historically associated
 with progressiveness, 21, 316
 Albigenians, 246; massacre of, 284
 Alexander, F. M., 223, 326
 Allerton, Robert, 237
 Ambition, 321
 American Brown Boveri Corporation,
 118
 American Dental Congress, 259
 Amritsar massacre, 18, 189
 Analysis (self), need of, 326
 Anarchists, 61, 70
 Ancon, Treaty of, 115
 Anselm, 278
 Antioch College, 169, 203; system of
 education at, 203, 204
 Aquinas, 278
 Arica, Tacna and, provinces of, 115, 116
 Arnold, Dr., of Rugby, 187
 Aryan race, 67
 Asceticism, 232
 Ashburton, Lord, 116, 117
 Associations of devoted individuals,
 128 ff.
 Atatürk, Kemal, 249, 250
 Augustine, 240
 Austrian government, 147; and Italy,
 155
 Avalon, Arthur, 234
 Awareness, 221
 Aztecs, 241, 242

 Babbitt, Prof. Irving, *quoted*, 247, 248,
 286, 293, 299
 Bacon, Francis, *quoted*, 88
 Baker, Noel, 104 n.
 Baudelaire, 308, 309
 B.B.C., the, 49, 86
 Bedlam, 142
 Behanan's *Yoga*, 234 n.
 Behaviourism, 2, 19, 257

 Belgium, 65
 Beliefs, 252-302
 Benedictinism, 132-135; and revival
 of agricultural life, 136
 Bernadotte, 149
 Bernard, St., 290
 Bethlehem Hospital, state of, 142
 Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation,
 118
Bhakti-Marga, 234 ff.
 Bismarck, non-violent resistance
 against, 147
 Black Mountain College, 80
 Blake, William, *Prophetic Books* of, 167
 Body and Mind, relation between, 258
 Boer War, 140
 Bolsheviks, iron dictatorship of the, 28
 Bona, Cardinal, 292
 Boulding, Kenneth, *quoted*, 153
 British Medical Association, 96
 British Navy League, 119
 Broad, Prof. C. D., 259, 260
 Brunschvicg, *quoted*, 278, 279
 Bryce, *Studies in History and Juris-*
 prudence, quoted, 57
 Buddha, teachings of, 5, 21, 32, 57, 92,
 93, 135, 208, 226, 227, 235, 243,
 245-247, 249, 282, 291, 294, 297,
 325, 329
 Buddhist Lodge, 246 n.
 Burt, 268.

 Calvin, 240, 241
 Campbell-Bannerman, 140
 Catharists, 284
 Centralization, Chapter VII
 Centralization and Decentralization,
 70-88
 Chapman, Dom John, 243, 292, 293
 Charity, progress in, 6
 Chase, Stuart, *quoted*, 200
 Chastity, 315
 Chile and Peru, dispute between, 115,
 116
 Chinese, the, 91; pacifistic ideals of,
 91, 92

ENDS AND MEANS

- Cistercian Reform, 135, 136; agricultural revival by Cistercians, 136
Cloud of Unknowing, The, 221, 291, 304, 305
 Cluny, 135
 Cobbett, 79
 Colonies, use of, 107
 Communism, 6, 20; Russian, 35; and authoritarian state, 61; violence of Communists, 67, 72, 124, 130; military organization, 133, 145, 283
 Community sense, decline of the, 77
 Competition, evil effects of intra-specific, 262
 Comte, 228, 229
 Confucianism, 91, 92
 Continence (sexual) and social energy, 311 ff.
 Co-operatives, 85
 Council of Action, 152
 Crébillon, 273
 Criminals, non-violent treatment of, 142-143
 Crowd emotion, 72
 Cruelty, 17

 Darwinism, 274
 Deák, 147
 Decentralization, Chapter VII
 Decentralization, Centralization, and Self-Government, 61-88
 Descartes, 278
 Dewey, Prof. John, 223
Dhammapada, 241
 Dictators and religion, 250
 Dictatorship, 7, 19, 29, 57; military, 26; proletariat, 61, 63; insecurity of, 64, 66, 67; success of, 72; and national vanity, 97; the two Fascist dictators, 103; and sport, 188, 250
 'Dirtless' farming, 44
 Disarmament Conference of 1932-34, 118, 119
 Discipline in schools, its relation to militarism, 181 ff.
 Disease, mind and, 258; sin and, 305-306
 Dissociation of arbitrarily associated ideas, 217
 Divine, Father, 237
 Divinism, 236, 237

 Douglas, Major, 153
 Dubreuil, Hyacinthe, 74, 75, 83
 172
 Duke University, 259
 Durkheim, 94

 Eastman, Max, 163
 Eckhart, 227 n., 298, 327, 328, 32
 Economic self-sufficiency, 41
 Eden, Mr., and armaments, 110
 Education, 177-224
 Egypt, 147
 Electricity Board, 49, 86
 Energy, its relation to sexual continence, 312, 318
 Equality, 169
 Esdaile, surgical technique of, 259
 Eskimos, 90
 Ethics, 303-330
 Evil, problem of, 301 ff.
 Evolution, 260 ff.
 Examinations, 194

 Fabians, 31, 86
 Faith, 285
 Farming, 'dirtless,' 44, 45
 Fascism, 6, 19, 32, 33, 34, 36, 40, 50;
 Fascist aggression, 65, 66, 67, 72;
 military organization, 133, 145;
 war against, 152, 283
 Fichte, 26
 Finns, die, and Russian oppression
 147
 Food supply, 43
 Fourierists, 61
 France, 65
 Franco-Prussian War, 95
 Frazer, 37, 38
 French Revolution, 100, 102, 144
 Freudians, 177, 178
 Frost, Bede, *quoted*, 246 n., 293
 Fry, Elizabeth, 143
 Fuehrers, 88

 Gandhi, 146, 147
 Garibaldi, 155
 Gaultier, Jules de, 206
 Geden, Prof., 243
 George, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd, 152
 Gericke, Prof., and 'dirtless farming,' 44

INDEX

- glory, desire for, 101
 Gnostic sects, 226, 227
 God, conceived as personal, 235 ff.;
 arguments for the existence of,
 77 ff.; conceived as impersonal,
 292 ff.
 symbols, 67
 Golden Age, 1
 Gregg, Richard, *quoted*, 139, 151
 Gregory the Great, 132
 Gresham's Law, 213
 Griffin, *An Alternative to Rearmament*,
 5
 Groups, distinguished from crowds,
 71 ff.; for purposes of meditation,
 249
 Hague Court, the, 117
 Halbwachs, 94
 Haldane, 261, 262
 Hamilton, Alexander, 109
 Hammond, 200
 Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and
 Ethics*, 292
 Heard, Gerald, 123
 Hegel, 6, 29, 58, 67, 171, 253, 322
 Hinduism, 5, 92, 135, 146, 226, 227,
 245, 246, 289, 290, 291, 294
 'Historicalness', 66-69
 History, scientific and non-scientific,
 195
 Hitler, 19, 34, 61, 67, 92, 103, 112, 145,
 171, 242, 250, 317
 Hsien Tsiang, Chinese pilgrim, 245
 Holland, 65; crime in, 142
 Hoover, President, 116
 Howard, John, 142, 143
 Hughan, J. W., 146
 Hume, 267, 278, 284
 Hungarians, 147
 Huxley, T. H., 228
 Ibn Saud, 251
 Ideal individual, the, 2
 Ignatian order, 133
 Ignorance, mostly vincible, 270
 Illness as sin, 305
 Imitation of Christ, 5, 127
 Income, optimum, 161-162; in-
 equalities in, 162
 India, 18; Amritsar massacre, 18, 189;
 British Conquest of, 27; pacifism,
 92, 146; non-co-operation, 147;
 religion of, 232-235, 243
 Indians, Zuni, 20; Pueblo, 20, 21;
 American, 23, 27
 Inequality, 161-176
 Inhibition in education, 222
 Intelligence, definition of, 321 ff.
 'International Police Force', 112, 113,
 114, 118
 Italians, the, 67, 155; governed by
 Austrians, 155, 250, 251; Mussolini,
 19, 32, 61, 92, 155, 250, 251, 317
 Jacobins, iron dictatorship of, 26, 28;
 leaders, 145
 Japan, 81, 82, 92; activities in Man-
 churia, 103; Japanese Christians,
 139; Japanese Samurai, 182, 183;
 Buddhism, 243; Zen mind-training,
 251 ff.
 Jesuits, 132 ff., 177, 243, 292
 Jesus, 238
 Jews, Hitler and the, 242
 John of the Cross, St., 135, 290, 292
 Jung, 177
 Kaganovitch, 83
 Kant, Critical Philosophy of, 278, 322
 Keith, Sir Arthur, 90
 Kellogg, Prof., 266
 Kiel, Treaty of, 149
 Kierkegaard, 240
 Knowledge as a function of being, 287
 Kossuth, 147
 Kretschmer, 165
 Kshatriyas in India, 2
 Kulturkampf, 147
 Labour Movement, British (1920), 147
 Labour Party, 112, 114
 Lamarckism, 261
 Lamettrie, 272, 274
 Lao Tzu, 5, 91, 92, 226
 La Rochefoucauld, *quoted*, 320
 Laski, Prof., 26, 48
 Lassiter, General, 116
 Lataste, Marie, 290, 291
 Leadership, the problem of, 172 ff.

ENDS AND MEANS

- League of Nations, failure of, 108;
 refusal of America to join, 108; a
 league of societies organized for
 war, 109, 121; League Covenant,
 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117;
 and colonies, 120
- Lenin, 61, 75, 171
- Lestrangle, Dom Augustine de, 130
- Leuba, Prof., *quoted*, 236
- Ligt, Barthélemy de, *quoted*, 25, 139
- London Passenger Transport Board,
 49, 86
- Loyola, militarism of, 132, 133; and
 non-attachment, 134; exercises of,
 135
- Lunatics, non-violent treatment of, 142
- Luther, 328
- Lynd, 78
- McDonagh, J. E. R., 258 *n.*
- Machiavelli, 6, 33
- McTaggart, 295, 324
- Maine and New Brunswick, boundary
 between, 116, 117
- Mallarmé, 286
- Mandate System, 119, 120, 121
- Marett, Dr. R. R., 6, 25
- Marx, Karl, 1, 61, 62, 272
- Material universe, nature of, 254 ff.
- Meaninglessness, philosophy of, 267,
 273 ff.
- Mechanomorphie cosmology, 123, 124
- Meditation, practical value of, 248 ff.;
 as a method of acquiring knowledge,
 286
- Metaphysics, practical significance of,
 252; relations with ethics, 329
- Meyerson, Emile, 11, *quoted*, 12 *n.*, 253
- Mind, nature of, 256 ff.; and physical
 disease, 258-259
- Mitrany, Prof. David, 86
- Monasticism, 129; Benedictine, 132-136
- Montessori, 181, 182; Society of
 Germany, 185; activities in Italy,
 185, 201, 202
- Morgan, Dr. A. E., 169, 202, 203
- Mussolini, 19, 32, 61, 92, 155, 250, 251,
 317
- Mysticism, 235, 246 ff., 286 ff.
- Nationalism, 26, 40; as a cause of war,
 97
- Nationalization of armaments no cure
 for war, 106
- Naval Conference of 1927, 118
- Nazi creed, 26, 82, 130, 283
- Nericiat, André de, 273
- Netherlands, King of the, 116
- New Brunswick, Maine and, 116
- New Commonwealth, the, 112, 114
- 'New Harmony,' 129
- Newport News Shipbuilding and
 Drydock Company, 118
- Nietzsche, 6, 322
- Non-attachment, 3-6, 8, 16, 21, 72, 128,
 131, 134, 310
- Non-co-operation, 147, 155
- Non-violence, 70, 126, 128, 139, 140,
 141-144, 146-149, 155, 156
- Nordics, 242
- Norway, 149
- Noyes, J. H., 129, 130, 206
- Old Testament, 283
- Oneida Community, 130
- Otto, 328 *n.*
- Owen, Robert, 129
- Panglossian fatalism, 68
- Paranoiacs, 70
- Pascal, *quoted*, 281, 304, 305, 306
- Peace Pledge Union, 184
- Peaceful change, the machinery of, 114
- Pedro de Alcantara, San, 248
- Penn, 27
- Persecution, historically related to
 belief in personal God, 245
- Pershing, General, 116
- Persians, the, and tobacco monopoly,
 147
- Personal God. See God
- Peru, Chile and, dispute between, 111^b
- Philosophers, their theories contrasted
 with their practices, 322
- Philosophic Radicals, 61
- Physical education, need for, 220 ff.
- Pinel, 142
- Planned Society, 31-55
- Planned Society*, 46 *n.*
- Planning, its results, 38; may increase
 risks of war, 51
- Pogroms, 64
- Population, decline of, 54
- Port of London Authority, 49, 85

INDEX

- Port of New York Authority, 49
 Positivism, 274
 Power, lust for, 19
 Preventive ethics, 16
 Prison Discipline Society, 143
 Prison reform, 142
 Prisons, 142, 143
 Progress, definition of, 6; in Roman and British Empires, 27
 Propaganda, 157; new methods of, 211; need to build up resistance to, 212 ff.
 Proudhonian Mutualists, 61
 Prussia, Westerwald district of, 131
 Psychical Research, Society for, 259
 Psycho-analysis, 2
 Psycho-physiological types, 164 ff.
 Pueblo Indians, 20, 21
 Puritans, the, 182, 183

 Quakers, 132, 133, 134, 249

 Raiffeisen, 131
 Reality, ultimate, 297
 Red Indian problem, 27
 Reform, individual work for, 126-160
 Religion and dictators, 250
 Religious Practices, 225-251
 Religious self-education, physiological methods in, 232; emotional methods, 234 ff.; method of meditation, 247 ff.
 Renouvier, 145
 Rhine, Prof., 259
 Righteous indignation, 239
 R'sorgimento, 155
 'ttes, 226 ff.
 Ritual in religion, 228 ff., 248
 Robespierre, 145
 Roman Catholics, pacifism among, 110
 Roosevelt, President, and technological progress, 53
 Rousseau, 165
 Royce, 298
 Russell, Bertrand, 111, 181, 201
 Russia, 19, 20, 34, 148; Communist Party in, 35, 82, 83; agriculture in, 47; Trotskyite opposition, 48; collective ownership in, 50; birth-rate of, 54; present Russian state, 61; Tolstoyans, 61; self-government, 82, 84; Soviet, 82, 83, 163, 171, 181; Soviet suggestion of disarmament, 119; threatened attack on, 152; aim of revolutionaries, 146; and Germany, 103; Tsarist regime, 146; Finns and Russian oppression, 147; Stalin's police, 155; Education, 185, 186, 203; anti-God campaigns, 250
 Ruysbroeck, 286

 Sacramentalism, 293
 Sade, Marquis de, 6, 219, 270-272, 309
 Salpêtrière, 142
 Sanctions, military, 109, 112
 Sanctions, economic and military, 109, 111, 112, 118
 Sankhara, 329
 Savages, non-violent treatment of, 143
 Schucker, Thomas, 239
 Schweitzer, Dr. A., 299
 Science, definition of, 253; its picture of the material world, 253 ff.
 Scott, Peter, 172 n.
 Seabrook, W. B., *Asylum*, 142
 Sedition Bill, 65
 Selders, 104 n.
 Self-government and co-operative enterprise, 85; in schools, 202
 Sex, 307 ff.; and the origin of war, 90; freedom in matters of, 273
 Shearer, Mr., 118
 Sheldon, Dr. W., 165
 Sickness as sin, 305
Sin Wan Paa, 92
 Smith, Elliot, 265
 Smyth-Pigott, 239
 Social Democratic Party, 147
 Social reform, 16-24, 25-30
 Socialism, state, 62, 85
 Society of Friends, 132
 Spain, 18; Civil War in, 103, 156; Protestant heretics in, 139; Republic, 145
 Spinoza, 5, 288, 306
 Spiritual exercises, Chapter XIII
 Sport, 187 ff.
 Stalin, 34, 61
 Stockard, *quoted*, 164
 Stoics, 5, 226, 277
 Suicide rate, decline of, in war time, 94
 Suttie, Dr., *quoted*, 180
 Sweden, 149
 Syndicalists, 61

ENDS AND MEANS

- Synthesis of scientific knowledge, need for, 276
- Tacna and Arica, provinces of, 115, 116
- Tao Te Ching, the, 282
- Tauler, John, 5
- Tawney, 183, 209 n.
- Technology, 8, 21, 42, 43, 53, 158, 160
- Telepathy, 259
- Teresa, St., 325, 328
- Theism. See God
- Tillyard, A., *quoted*, 246 n.
- Tolstoyans, 61
- Traherne, 311
- Trappists, 130
- Treaty of Versailles, 112, 140
- Types (Human) classification of, 164 ff.
- 'Uchronia,' 145
- Union of Democratic Control, 104 n.
- United States, 83; and dispute between Chile and Peru, 115, 116; Anglo-American dispute over boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, 116, 145
- Unity, good is that which makes for, 303
- Unwin, Dr. J. D., 90, 307, 311, 313-315, 317, 318
- Utopia, short cut to, 1, 25
- Veblen, 22
- Vergin, Dr., 316
- Versailles, Treaty of, 112, 140
- Violence, 25 ff., 139 ff.
- Violence, Social Reform and, 25-30
- Voltaire, 165
- War, 89-125; nature of, 89-94; causes of, 94-108; remedies and alternatives, 108-125; conditions in which war may lead to lasting settlement, 139; not remediable by economic reforms alone, 153
- War Resisters' International, 151
- War Resisters League, 146
- Weber, Max, 91, 183
- Webster, Daniel, 116, 117
- Wells, H. G., *quoted*, 178
- Whitehead, Prof., 250, 294, 301
- Willcox, Dr., and agro-biologists, 44, 45
- Wilson, President, Fourteen Points of, 112
- Women, position of, 313
- Yale Review*, 86
- Yang Sen, General, 92
- Yoga, methods of, 233, 234, 247
- Zaharoff, Sir Basil, 106
- Zuñi Indians, 20

shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardor with which I sigh for the reunion of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck; if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to observe, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod. "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful, of the East and West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.⁶

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion: she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery,⁷ sub-

⁶ See this whole negotiation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9), who, amidst the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the uneasiness of a guilty conscience.

⁷ See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Ecclési. pp. 181-184), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

scribed in purple ink, and sealed with the *golden bull*, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence, and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succor of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Mussulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign; transfers to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman galleys were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy that their sovereign escaped the dishonor of this fruitless humiliation.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state, Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope: he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. After a long absence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tiber: Urban the Fifth,^a of a mild and vir-

^a See the two first original Lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Itall.

trous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and, in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter: Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflections, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honorable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West;⁹ nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the gospel in the rank of a deacon.¹⁰ In favor of his proselyte, Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,¹¹ or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special license was

carum, tom. iii. p. 51. pp. 623, 635), and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573, A. D. 1369, No. 7), and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. pp. 223, 224). Yet, from some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflections of Palæologus.

⁹ *Paulo minus quam si fulset Imperator Romanorum.* Yet his title of Emperor Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623).

¹⁰ It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas-day. On all other festivals these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the *corporale*. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Pétrarque, tom. iii. p. 734).

¹¹ Through some Italian corruptions, the stymology of *Falcone in bosco* (Matteo Villani, l. xi. c. 79, in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746), suggests the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Anglican, inter Scriptores Camdeni. p. 143). After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1374, general of the Florentines, and was buried with such honors as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. pp. 212-371).

granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise: and it was for the advantage, perhaps, of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succor, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous.¹³ The disconsolate Greek¹³ prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son, Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource; and even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor: the state was poor, the clergy were obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reprov'd by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople, the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the slothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.¹⁴

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor, Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French succor under the command of the

¹³ This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 167) is rather true than civil. 'O! mancava ancor questo, che dopo esser calpestrata l'Italia da tanti masnadieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero an dall' Inghilterra nuovi cani a finire di divorarla.'

¹⁴ Chalcondyles, l. i. pp. 25. 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe, that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene consolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623).

¹⁵ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241), leaves some intermediate era for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

rallant Boucicault.¹⁵ By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest Barbarians;¹⁶ and the marshal who advised the journey prepared the reception of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open: Italy received him as he first, or, at least, as the second, of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behavior prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a secretly of Bajazet, gave him safe and honorable conduct to the verge of his dominions.¹⁷ On the confines of France¹⁸ the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton in the neighborhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed, a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white color is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after a haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged by the Louvre: a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence, and amuse his grief; he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalized, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assist-

¹⁵ *Mémoires de Boucicault*, P. 1. c. 35, 36.

¹⁶ His journey into the west of Europe is slightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (l. ii. c. 44-50) and Ducas (c. 14).

¹⁷ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard; and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

¹⁸ For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles.* tom. i. pp. 676, 677, A. D. 1400, No. 6), who quotes Juvenal des Ursins, and the monk of St Denis; and Villaret (*Hist. de France*, tom. xii. pp. 331-334), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

ance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factions competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin; and, on Blackheath, King Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East.¹⁹ But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse; nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention.²⁰ Satisfied, however, with gifts and honors, Manuel returned to Paris, and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism; the kings, the nations, the universities, of

¹⁹ A short note of Manuel in England is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (*de Græcis illustribus*, p. 14), C. P. Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insensibus constrictus, ut pro eisdem resistentiam triumphalem perquireret, Anglorum Regem visitare decrevit, &c. Rex (says Walsingham, p. 364), nobili apparatu . . . suscepit (ut dicitur) tantum Heina, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriose, pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, et eum respiciens tanto fastigio donativis. He repeats the same in his *Upodigma Neustrin* (p. 558).

²⁰ Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

Europe were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring, or deserving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by his neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.²¹

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks beheld with astonishment and terror the perpetual stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of Barbarians. The observations of Manuel, and his more inquisitive followers, have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times:²² his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to *our* minds. I. GERMANY (says the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the River Tartessus, and the Pyrenæan Mountains.²³ The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is salubrious, the bodies of the natives are robust and healthy; and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations: they are brave

²¹ This fact is preserved in the *Historia Politica*, A. D. 1391-1478, published by Martin Crusius (*Varco Græcia*, pp. 1-43). The image of Christ, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

²² The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463; and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions, the modest historian has never introduced himself; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 474), seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. pp. 36, 37, 44-50.

²³ I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and mistook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33), whose text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. iii. pp. 210, 220), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geographers?

and patient; and were they united under a single head their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope they have acquired the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor;²⁴ nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strasburg, Cologne, Hamburgh, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by sage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war: their industry excels in all the mechanic arts; and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean; containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their sovereign: the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy; of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbors are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own, and the more remote, seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people; and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland,²⁵ they esteem themselves the first of the western nations; but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British island. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five

²⁴ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German Emperor with the titles of Βασιλεὺς or Αυτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcondyles; and he describes the Byzantine prince, and his subject, by the proper, though humble, names of Ἑλληνας and Βασιλεὺς Ἑλληνων.

²⁵ Most of the old romances were translated in the sixteenth century into French prose, and soon became the favorite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inserted the tales of Archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

thousand stadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages: though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and luxury, London,²⁶ the metropolis of the isle, may claim a preëminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the distance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy: his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the Continent: in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbors of France: but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honor and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable consequences.²⁷ Informed as we are of the customs of Old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have

²⁶ Λονδινῇ δὲ τε πόλις δύναται τε προεχουσαίων ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ πασῶν πόλεων, ὡς βω τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πρὸς ἱσπεραν λειπομένη. Even since the time of Fitzstephen (the xliith century), London appears to have maintained this prominence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

²⁷ If the double sense of the verb *κυν* (oscular, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 48).*

* I can discover no "pious horror" in the plain manner in which Chalcondyles relates this strange usage. He says, οὐδε αἰσχύνῃ τούτο φέρει δαυτοῖς κνεσθαι τὰς τὴ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, yet these are expressions beyond what would be used, if the ambiguous word *κνεσθαι* were taken in its more innocent sense. Nor can the phrase *παρεχονται τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις* well bear a less coarse interpretation. Gibbon is probably right as to the origin of this extraordinary mistake.—M.

confounded a modest salute²⁸ with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.²⁹

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manue reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance,³⁰ announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church: the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, despatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear that the

²⁸ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andrellino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

²⁹ Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxxi. tom. ii. p. 1007), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arroy of taliste*, so certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

³⁰ See Lefant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 676; and for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliothèque of Dupin, tom. xii., and xxist and xxild volumes of the History, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succor, a council, and a final reunion, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza,⁸¹ his favorite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope.⁸² "Our last resource," said Manuel, against the Turks, "is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present his danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the Barbarians." Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence; and the wise monarch (continued Phranza) casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse: "Myson deems himself a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His arming spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes.

⁸¹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the service of the state and palace; and Hæckius (*de Script. Byzant.* p. 1, c. 40) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the strongest terms to his successor. *Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui miravit mihi fideliter et diligenter* (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John, as cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

⁸² See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Escurial, &c., it is a matter of shame and reproach, that we would be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, James Pontanus, *ad calcem Theophylacti Simocatæ*: Ingolstadt, 1604, so deficient in accuracy and elegance (*Fabric. Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vi. pp. 615-620).*

* The Greek text of Phranzes was edited by F. C. Alter, Vindobonæ, 1796. It has been re-edited by Bekker for the new edition of the Byzantines, Bonn, 1838. M.

Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace, and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career dividing his precious movables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favorite servants. Of his six sons,³³ Andronicus the Second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles³⁴ with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans; the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength, and the less successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only victory of Palæologus, was over a Jew,³⁵ whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's

³³ See Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* pp. 243-248.

³⁴ The exact measure of the Hexamillon, from sea to sea, was 3800 orgyia, or *toises*, of six Greek feet (Pliuzas, l. i. c. 38), which would produce a Greek mile still smaller than that of 660 French *toises*, which is assigned by D'Anville, as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the isthmus. See the *Travels* of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

³⁵ The first objection of the Jews is on the death of Christ; if it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide, which the emperor parries with a mystery. The second dispute on the conception of the Virgin, the sense of the prophecies, &c. (Pliuzas, l. ii. c. 12, a whole chapter).

vice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received summons from the Latin assembly of a new character, the dependent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the use of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy are soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and a sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by obvious and arbitrary reservations.³⁵ A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome; the cardinals and favorites are enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and abbees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice³⁷ and luxury: they rigorously imposed on the clergy the duties of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated a impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the west, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the synods of Pisa and Constance³⁸ were successively convened; but these great assemblies,

³⁵ In the treatise delle Materie Beneficarie of Fra Paolo (in the 14th volume he last, and best, edition of his works), the papal system is deeply studied and fully described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume still survive, a philosophical history, and a salutary warning.

³⁷ Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions gold florins, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 1) whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of eight millions sterling in the 14th century is enormous, and almost incredible.

³⁸ A learned and liberal Protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, in six volumes in quarto; but the last is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of semla.

conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy; nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basil⁸⁸ had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the Fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of the first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom: the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius, and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time b

⁸⁸ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighboring and confederate Swiss. In 1459, the university was founded by Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or a university, in the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

is temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East: and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan,⁴⁰ who laid at his feet twelve large cases, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold. The others of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. Palæologus was not averse to the proposal; and his ambassadors were introduced with due honors into the Catholic senate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the Sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated: he was agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons,⁴¹ to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats⁴² for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and some galleys, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expenses; and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress, the friendship of Palæologus was distressed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West; but the exterous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in

⁴⁰ This Turkish embassy, attested only by Crantzius, is related with some doubt by the annalist Spoudanus, A. D. 1433, No 25, tom. 1 p. 824.

⁴¹ Syriopulus, p. 19. In this list, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. The 75,000 sums which they asked in this negotiation of the pope (p. 9), were more than they could hope or want.

⁴² I use indifferently the words *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. These old pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the English guinea.

the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situate far beyond the pillars of Hercules;⁴⁰ the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by a haughty declaration, that after suppressing the *new* heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the *old* heresy of the Greeks.⁴¹ On the side of Eugenius, all was smooth, and yielding, and respectful; and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eastern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of forgery and theft, a surreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the synod, with its own consent, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were equipped for this service at Venice, and in the Isle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the slower vessels of Basil: the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy;⁴² and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the preëminence of glory. Assailed by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory; and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismund dissuaded the unseasonable adventure; his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Cæsar

⁴⁰ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epistle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps; οἱ ὅλκοι (sais he) σε καὶ τὴν μετὰ σου σύνοδον ἐξω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στήλων καὶ περὶ Γαδύρων ἐξάγουσι. Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

⁴¹ Syropulus (pp. 26-31) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen; and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

⁴² Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared ὅτι βρισιον ἔχει παρὰ τοῦ Πάπα ἵνα πολεμήσῃ σκαῦ ἐν ἐνῶντα τα λάπτερα τῆς Συρόδου, καὶ εἰ δυνήθῃ, καταδύσῃ, καὶ ἀβύσσῃ. The naval orders of the synod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

could nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West.⁴⁶ Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign.⁴⁷ The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings.⁴⁸ The five *cross-bearers*, or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, were bound to attend in person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or primate, Sylvester Syropulus,⁴⁹ has composed a free and curious history⁵⁰ of the *false* union.⁵¹ Of the clergy that

⁴⁶ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36), and the last advice of Isidore (p. 57). At Consta, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79).

⁴⁷ Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13). *Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fulsset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat*. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (pp. 126, 219), but he never attacked the city.

⁴⁸ The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favorites: *τοιαύτην πληροφορίαν σχήσειν ἤλπιζε καὶ διὰ τοῦ Πατριάρχου λυθεῖν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστερήσεως αὐτοῦ δουλείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως* (p. 2). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

⁴⁹ The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, *σύντομος*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can my reasoning of Creighton, the editor, excuse his changing into *Sgiwopulus* Sgiros, fuscus, the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

⁵⁰ From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, our years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office section xii. pp. 330-350). His passions were cooled by time and retirement; and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

⁵¹ *Vera historia unionis non verè inter Græcos et Latinos* (Haga Comitis, 1690, in folio), was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creighton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a

reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyricus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church; and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, and the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendor: whatever gold the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot;⁵² and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish Straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf.⁵³

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice, and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honors from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state. Seated on the poop on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the *adoration*

polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style; but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

⁵² Syropulus (p. 63) simply expresses his intention *ἵ' ὅπως πομπανὴν ἰ-δόντες μεγάς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερείων νομίσουσιν*; and the Latin of Greythton may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. Ut pompa circumductus nobis Imperator Italas populus aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Cræsus ex opulents Lydia.

⁵³ Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the 14th section (pp. 67-110), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

f the doge and senators.⁵⁴ They sailed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys: the sea was overspread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the Eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city, that seems to float on the bosom of the waves.⁵⁵ They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After a hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara; and on this occasion the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient enmity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a black horse; but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of the empire, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign more powerful than himself.⁵⁶ Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused to proffered genuflection; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a seat on his left hand. Nor could the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by the pope as brother with a kiss of union and charity; nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honor in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalce-

⁵⁴ At the time of the synod, Phranzes was in Peloponnesus: but he received from the despot Demetrius a faithful account of the honorable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (*Dux . . . sedentem Imperatorem adorant*), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16).

⁵⁵ The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (*Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. vii. c. 18) at the sight of Venice abundantly proves that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87).

⁵⁶ Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1328-1411), and was buried at Ferrara Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Comacchio. See his *Life* Muratori (*Antichità Estense*, tom. ii. pp. 159-201).

don, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the solitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.⁶⁷

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state; at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors, nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favorites and *Janizaries* fixed his summer residence at a pleasant, spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chase, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman.⁶⁸ In the meanwhile, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allow-

⁶⁷ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple color, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (*Body de Græcis Illustribus*, p. 31). Yet another spectator confesses that the Greek fashion was più grave e più degna than the Italian (*Vespasiano*, in *Vit. Eugen. IV.* in *Muratori*, tom. xxv. p. 201).

⁶⁸ For the emperor's hunting, see *Synopulus* (pp. 143, 144, 191). The pope had sent him eleven miserable lacks; but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Janizaries* may surprise, but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

ance was assigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court.⁶⁰ They sighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped.⁶¹ It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine.⁶²

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius; the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the Fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, a hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favorable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation; the council of Basil was reduced

⁶⁰ The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins per month to the persons of honorable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince, or despot, Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 891 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropolus pp. 104, 105). On the 20th October, 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April, 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (pp. 172, 225, 271).

⁶¹ Syropulus (pp. 141, 142, 204, 221) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

⁶² The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xliith vol. of the *Annals* of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of clergy;⁶² while the Latins of Florence could subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and monks, or chiefs of religious orders. After the months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, the council obtained the advantage and glory of the reunion. Four principal questions had been agitated by the churches; 1. The use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, as the body of Christ. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause was managed by ten theological champions; it was supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of Cardinal Bessarion and Mark of Ephesus, and by the able leaders of the Greek forces. We must pause on the progress of human reason, by the first of these questions was *now* treated as a rite, which might innocently vary with the faith and country. With regard to the second, both sides agreed in the belief of an intermediate state between the venial sins of the faithful; and whether purgatory was a fire, or a purgation by elemental fire, was a doubtful point which a few years might be conveniently settled on disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared weighty and substantial; yet by the time the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit, that jurisdiction should be exercised agreeably to the vague allowance, which might be defined by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had sunk much into the minds of men; and in the sessions of Ferrara the Latin addition of *filiusque* was subdivided into questions, whether it were legal, and whether it was necessary. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast of my own impartial indifference; but I must observe that the Greeks were strongly supported by the council of Chalcedon, against adding any

⁶² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred of the clergy of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. The number could not be supplied by all the ecclesiastics of every rank present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the East, who, if they tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople.⁶⁸ In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless: reason is confounded by the procession of a deity: the gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by sophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints.⁶⁹ Of this at least we may be sure, that neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repent a form of mysterious words: their national and personal honor depended on the repetition of the same sounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country,⁶⁶ he appears in ecclesiastical

⁶⁸ The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to sally from this strong fortress (pp. 178, 193, 196, 202, of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed. A palpable forgery! (p. 173).

⁶⁹ *Ὁς ἔγω* (said an eminent Greek) *ὅταν εἰς νῆον εἰσελθὼ Λατίνων οὐ προσκυνῶ τινα τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγίων, ἀπεὶ οὐδὲ γνωρίζω τινα* (Syropulus, p. 109). See the perplexity of the Greeks (pp. 217, 218, 232, 253, 273).

⁶⁶ See the polite altercation of Marc and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257) who never dissembles the vices of his own party and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court favor by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and persons; characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins; an episcopal treasure, free robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted: ⁶⁶ the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt would be accepted as a favor, and might operate as a bribe. ⁶⁷ The danger and relief of Constantinople might excite some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated, that the obstinate heretics who should resist the consent of the East and West would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff. In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve members; but the five *cross-bearers* of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed. In the treaty between the two nations, several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, with

⁶⁶ For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus 127).

⁶⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had ascribed the act of union (p. 283); yet he relates some suspicious circumstances and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.

⁶⁸ The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropul. p. 186); and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threat (p. 280).

⁶⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester: a favorite hound, usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked furiously while the act of union was reading, without being silenced by soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. pp. 285, 286).

out dishonoring the Greeks; and they weighed the cruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance rembled with a slight preponderance in favor of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the reader) that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; and, at Florence, by his reunion of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod (which he styled indeed an assembly of *dæmons*), the pope was branded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism;⁷⁰ and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus,⁷¹ had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory.⁷² On a memorable day, the sixth of

⁷⁰ From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. p. ff. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.

⁷¹ Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (pp. 200-202).

⁷² None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be esteemed as authentic

July, the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones: the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced, in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chanted with the addition of *filioque*; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate, sounds;⁷³ and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honor. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises: the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter.⁷⁴ The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and the Æthiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in countries which they presumed to represent,⁷⁵ diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius; and a clamor was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigor of opposition was succeeded by the lassitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dis-

copies, which were subscribed at Florence before (26th of August, 1439) the final separation of the pope and emperor (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xliii. pp. 287-311).

⁷³ Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἀσχημαί εἰσάκουον φῶναι (Syropul. p. 297).

⁷⁴ In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England: and, after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307).

⁷⁵ So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c., that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

solved; and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille.⁷⁶ A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism: nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.⁷⁷

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence—the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words, of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin.⁷⁸ But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian,⁷⁹ who, by a long residence and noble marriage,⁸⁰ was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years

⁷⁶ Ripaille is situate near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the Lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison (*Travels into Italy*, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148, of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

⁷⁷ In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviii and xliii tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the piousness, though partial, history of Augustin Fabricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique* tom. xli), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxli), and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

⁷⁸ In the first attempt, Meursius collected 8600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plentiful gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducauge, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, &c. (*Fabric. Bibliot. Græc.* tom. x. p. 101, &c.) Some Persian words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce; but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

⁷⁹ The life of Francis Philopphus, a sophist, proud, restless and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 691-761) and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. vii. pp. 282-294), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

⁸⁰ He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the

before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philolphus,⁸¹ "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion are those whom *we* follow; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct. The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity; and the native graces of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners do I say? They live retired and sequestered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets; and when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of the evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants."⁸²

Among the Greeks a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion: their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners: nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laziness, and the discord, of the church and cloister, the more inquisitive ~~and~~ ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclesiastics presided

granddaughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Constantinople.

⁸¹ Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit . . . ita loquuntur vulgo hæc etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes, ut historiographi, ut philosophi . . . litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius . . . Nam viri suliici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant in primisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus (Philolph. Epist. ad ann. 1451. apud Hodium, pp. 148, 149). He observes in another passage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderatâ et enavi et maxime Attica.

⁸² Philolphus, absurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealousy from the manners of ancient Rome.

ver the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople, than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West.⁸³ But an important distinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been reserved by superstition; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford,⁸⁴ were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardor might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the Muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism: that the seeds of

⁸³ See the state of learning in the xiiith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Moshelm (*Inst. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 434-440, 480-491).

⁸⁴ At the end of the xvth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1367 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 8,000 scholars (*Henry's History of Great Britain*, vol. iv. p. 474). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature after a long oblivion of many hundred years.⁸⁵ Yet in the country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted some profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honorably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe, that their science is without a cause, and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect.⁸⁶ The first impression of the Doric and Ion colonies has never been completely erased: the Calabria churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings of Homer.⁸⁷ He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace,⁸⁸ as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced him equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these

⁸⁵ Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodyus, Dr. Humphrey Hody (*de Græcæ Illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*; London 1712, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (*istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. pp. 364-377, tom. vii. pp. 112-143). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

⁸⁶ In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, colonis Græcis repleta, remansit quædam illius veteris cognitio (Hodyus, p. 2). If it were eradicated from the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Basil, who possessed seven convents at Rossano alone (Giannone, *istoria di Napoli*, tom. p. 320).

⁸⁷ Il Barbari (says Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libere sed nomen Homeri audierunt. Perhaps, in that respect, the thirteenth century was less happy than the age of Charlemagne.

⁸⁸ See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace *du Genealog. Deorum*, l. xv. c.

testations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow, that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, were familiar to that profound and subtle logician.⁸⁰ In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch,⁸¹ the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant: Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy; and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the warmth of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples: but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria.⁸² The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your present of the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is worthy of yourself and of me: you have fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect: with Homer

⁸⁰ Cantacuzen, l. ii. c. 36.

⁸¹ For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, see the excellent *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. pp. 406-410, tom. ii. pp. 75-77.

⁸² The bishopric to which Barlaam retired was the old Locri, in the middle ages. Scla. Cyllaea, and by corruption Hieraclum, Gerace (Dissert. Chorographica Italiae Medii Aevi, p. 312). The divines of the Norman times soon lapsed into poverty, since even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 340).

you should have given me yourself; a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the specious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have seated him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had already acquired; but, if there be no profit, there is some pleasure, in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer; and often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, Illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much-lamented absence of another. Nor do I yet despair; and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in thy last period of age that he attained the knowledge of thy Greek letters."⁹²

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccaccio, the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, a hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty, a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccaccio, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple; he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was

⁹² I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petrarch (Famili. ix. 2); *Denique Humerum non in alienum sermonem violento alveo derivatum, sed ex ipsa Graeci eloquii scatebris, et qualis divino illi profudit ingenio . . . Sine tua voce Honoris tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudet tamen vel ad aspectum solo, ac sæpe illum amplexus atque suspirans dico, O magister, &c.*

⁹³ For the life and writings of Boccaccio, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latini. Medii Aevi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. pp. 83, 439-451) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch, his respectable friend, in whose letters an allusion to it appears.

vershadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and acoustant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning: history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed * and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which, perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers.²⁴ The first steps of learning are slow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honorable and beneficial station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time: he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unsocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria: in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manners: no sooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity: he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the un-

²⁴ Boccace indulges an honest vanity, *Ostentationis causa Græca carmina adscripta . . . jure ulor meo, meum est hoc decus, mea gloria scilicet inter Etruscos Græcos uti carminibus Nonne ego fui qui Leonium Pilatum, &c* (de *Genealogia Deorum*, l. xv. c. 7, a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions).

* This translation of Homer was by Pilatus, not by Boccace. See Hallam, *Hist. of Lit.* vol. i. p. 132.—M.

fortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his disaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.⁶⁵

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccaccio had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy.⁶⁶ Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras,⁶⁷ of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honor of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Aretin,⁶⁸ "I was a student of the civil law; but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters, and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether

⁶⁵ Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Hody (pp. 2-11), as the abbé de Sade (*Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 628-634, 670-673) who has happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

⁶⁶ Dr. Hody (p. 64) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius &c., for affirming that the Greek letters were restored in Italy *post septingentesimos annos*; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the fifth century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

⁶⁷ See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (pp. 12-54) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. pp. 113-118). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

⁶⁸ The name of *Aretinus* has been assumed by five or six natives of *Arezzo* in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the sixteenth century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a legislator, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age seventy-five (*Fabric. Biblioth. Medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 190, &c. *Tiraboschi*, tom. v. pp. 33-38.)

should desert my legal studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity; and thus, in the ardor of youth, I communed with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? With those poets, philosophers, and orators of whom such wonders are related, and who are celebrated by every age as the great masters of human science? Of professors and scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our universities; but a teacher, and such a teacher, of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras; and so strong was my passion, that the lessons which I had imbibed in the day were the constant subject of my nightly dreams.⁹⁹ At the same time and place, the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch;¹⁰⁰ the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition.¹⁰¹ The presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople between embassies and lessons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the emperor to the council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The

* See the passage in Aretin. *Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum*, apud Hodium, pp. 28-30.

⁹⁹ In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a ripening age (*Memoires sur Petrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 700-709).

¹⁰¹ Hinc Græcæ Latinsque scholæ exortæ sunt, Guarino Philadelpho Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, acplerisque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum emulatione multa ingenia deinceps ad laudem excitata sunt (Platini in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the name of Paulus Petrus Vergorius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, &c. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chrysoloras all these eminent scholars (Hodium, pp. 25-27, &c.).

synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church, and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy; and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the catholic cause. A patriot, who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favor, may be possessed however, of the private and social virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and apostate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his residence in Italy and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation; ¹⁰² his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave. ¹⁰³ His ecclesiastical honors diffused splendor and preëminence over his literary merit and service: his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of nations; ¹⁰⁴ of men applauded by themselves and the public and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labors were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners sc

¹⁰² See in Hody the article of Bessarion (pp. 136–177). Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the rest of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inserted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewise Tiraboschi, i. the 1st and 2d parts of the 6th tome.

¹⁰³ The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion; "Nicholas," said he, "thy respect has cost thee a halcyon and me the tiara." *

¹⁰⁴ Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus, Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philoponus, Pogginus, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus Platina, &c. Viri (says Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) *nullo vero perituri* (p. 166).

* Roscoe (Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. i. p. 75) considers that Hody has repeated this "fable tale."—M.

luded them from the commerce of the world; and since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris¹⁰⁶ will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and Imperial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negotiate. Duty and interest prompted him to cultivate the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country; their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry, and the oratory of Tully.¹⁰⁷ The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation,¹⁰⁷ which they introduced, was banished from the schools by the reason of the succeeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant; and those musical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than minute and unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed; the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Hero-

¹⁰⁶ He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honorable life was stretched far into the xvth century (A. D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, pp. 274-275). He left posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. pp. 221-230).

¹⁰⁷ Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved, and refuted by Franciscus Florinus, who can find no better names than *Græculus ineptus et impudens* (Hody, p. 275). In our own times, an English critic has accused the *Æneid* of containing *multa languida, nugatoria, spiritû et majestate carminis heroidæ defecta*; many such verses as he, the evil Jeremiah Markland, would have been ashamed of owning (prefat. ad Statii Sylvas, pp. 21, 22).

¹⁰⁷ Emanuel Chrysoloras and his colleagues are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, &c., tom. ii. p. 235). The modern Greeks pronounce the *s* as a *v* consonant, and confounded three vowels (*η, ι, υ*) and several diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Gardiner maintained by penal statutes in the university of Cambridge: but the monosyllable *ss* represented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep, and a bellwether is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who asserted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the *Syllage* of Havercamp (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740): but it is difficult to paint sounds by words: and in their reference to modern use they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe that our peculiar pronunciation of the *s*, *th*, is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130).

dian were transfused into their lessons; and their treatise of syntax and etymology, though devoid of philosophical spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who without his industry might have perished: the transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous, and sometimes an elegant pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholiasts. The sense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of style evaporated in a version, but the judgment of Theodore Gaza selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were pursued with more curiosity and ardor. After a long oblivion Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek,¹⁰⁸ who was taught in the house of Cosmo of Medicis. While the school of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy: his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect; and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colors of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage; and, as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of his country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry; and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerat-

¹⁰⁸ George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Bessarion, and all Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious Diatribe of A. Rattus de Georgitis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. pp. 739-756).

into an angry and personal quarrel of grammarians; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honor, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved; and if the writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrte continued to reign, the oracle of the church and school.¹⁰⁰

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it must be confessed, that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardor of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth¹⁰¹ has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church.¹⁰² He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age; he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, "Accept it," would he say, with a consciousness of his own worth: "ye will not always have a Nicholas among you." The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily

¹⁰⁰ The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy is illustrated by Bolvin (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. pp. 715-720), and Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. pp. 259-288).

¹⁰¹ See the Life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. P. i. pp. 805-902), and Vespasian of Florence (tom. xxv. pp. 267-290), in the collection of Muratori; and consult Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. pp. 46-53, 109), and Hody in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, &c.

¹⁰² Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes, in this instance, were worse politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken by the magicians themselves (*Lectures on the Study of History*, l. vi. pp. 165, 166, octavo edition, 1779).

replenished with more precious furniture; and such was the industry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of this Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis¹¹² was the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled in fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London: and his cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angel Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe.¹¹³ The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of their princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps, and the natives of France, Germany, and England,¹¹⁴ imparted to

¹¹² See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. l. i. c. 2), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

¹¹³ Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. l. p. 104), from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence, 1491. Latebant (says Aldus in his preface to the Greek orators, apud Hodium, p. 246) in Atho Thracis monte. Eas Lascari * * * in Italiam reportavit. Miserat enim ipsum Laurentius ille Medicus in Græciam ad inquirendos simul, et quantovis emundos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the research was facilitated by Sultan Bajazet II.

¹¹⁴ The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last year of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome.¹¹⁸ In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Ilissus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames: and Bessarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage: but this useful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity.¹¹⁹ A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings; and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labors of our Western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiments, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the

¹¹⁸ The jealous Italians were desirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, Caye (said they), cave hoc facias, ne Barbari istis adjuti domi manerant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, p. 365, from Beatus Rhenanus)

¹¹⁹ The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494: he printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time, several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors, two three, or four editions (Fabric. Biblot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 808, &c.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1494 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the *Annales Typographiques* of Maittaire, and the *Bibliographie Instructive* of De Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

antiquities of remote times might have improved or adorn the present state of society; the critic and metaphysic were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, a orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of 1 Augustan age: the works of nature were observed with 1 eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some Pagan votar professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the death Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of La imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in tl æra of learning it will not be easy to discern a real discove of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popu language of the country.¹¹⁷ But as soon as it had been de ly saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quicker into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refin the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in Fra and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction v succeeded by the light of speculative and experimen philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturit but in the education of a people, as in that of an individu memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason a fancy can be expanded: nor may the artist hope to equal surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of predecessors.

¹¹⁷ I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At synod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said, in familiar conversation to Georg Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the 1 pel and the Koran, for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allat apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751). 2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman acad which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members v accused of heresy, impiety, and *paganism* (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. i. pp. 81. 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the suc of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a festival of Bacchus, and, as it is said the sacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, JOELLE. Fontenelle, tom. ii. 56-61). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in sportive play of fancy and learning.

¹¹⁸ The survivor Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place be 1480 the composition of the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, and the *Orlando innamorato* of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. ii. pp. 174-177).

CHAPTER LXVII.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS.—REIGN AND CHARACTER OF AMURATH THE SECOND.—CRUSADE OF LADISLAUS, KING OF HUNGARY.—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.—JOHN HUNIADES.—SCANDERBEG.—CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools.¹ The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. ~~But~~ the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honor of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. "Constantinople," says the orator, "is situate on a commanding point between Europe and Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine.

¹ The epistle of Emanuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ad ealesem Codin de Antiquitatibus C. P. pp. 107-126). The superscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1114, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1404, is deduced from the age of his young sons Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrægeniti* (Ducauge, Fam. Byzant. pp. 244, 247).

By her interposition, the two seas, and the two continent are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gate of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbor, encompassed on all sides by the sea, and the continent, is the most secure and capacious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon: the towers are many; each tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens,² by land or water." Two storied and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of this model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe: and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time: the beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind, and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subjects and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticos, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been defaced by Christi-

² Somebody observed that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated *εἰς τὴν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύνασθαι καὶ περιπλεῖν καὶ περιπλεῖν*. But what is true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by navigable streams.

oal or Barbaric violence; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian,³ and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets that, a century before, the trembling fabrics of the colossus and the church had been saved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the Elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labor of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.⁴

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious and fruitless;⁵ and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream.⁶ The emperor

³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the Colossus of Justinian (l. vii. 12): but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Boivin consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down, and cast into a brass cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17).

⁴ See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras, (l. vii. 12, l. xv. 2). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, &c.

⁵ The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312-351) opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

⁶ On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. pp. 155, 156), and Ducas (c. 31); the last of whom writes with

and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but as they touched at the Morea and the Isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. Not sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers; fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots, and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of prompt relief and a powerful succor; and the clergy, content in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past, and they had more to dread from the public resentment than they could hope from the favor of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or the use of their Italian synod? they answered with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; and we are become *Azymites*." (The *Azymites* were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread, and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) "Alas, we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from its root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honor and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch

truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuators Fleury (tom. xxi. p. 338, &c., 401, 420, &c.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440-50). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

oseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and Cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was consecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord; age and infirmity soon removed him from the world; but the gospel of Mark was not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. The primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow,⁷ to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at Mount Athos, and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalized by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Isidore was condemned by a synod; his person was imprisoned in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.⁸ The Russians refused a passage to the mission-

⁷ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Harbostein, in Ramusio, tom. ii. p. 127). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the archbishop, who became, in 1558, the patriarch of Moscow (Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. iii. pp. 188, 190, from a Greek MS. at Tuin, *Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Aisenih.*

⁸ The curious narrative of Levesque (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. ii. pp. 212-247) is

aries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais;⁹ and their refusal was justified by the maxim that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of those sanguinary enthusiasts.¹⁰ While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labors, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science; a good emperor and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath; Belgrade alone withstood his attacks.* Under his reign, the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravansaras, hospitals, and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the Prophet; and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem."¹¹ This portrait is tran-

extracted from the patriarchal archives. The scenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion, but the Russians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

⁹ The Shamanism, the ancient religion of the Samanians and Gymnosophists has been driven by the more popular Bramana from India into the northern deserts: the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur; but they insensibly sunk into wizards and physicians. The Moidvans and Tcheremissians in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Lévesque, *Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes*, tom. i. pp. 184-237, 423-430).

¹⁰ Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. ii. A. D. 1451, No. 13. The epistle of the Greeks with a Latin version, is extant in the college library at Prague.

¹¹ See Cantemir, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 91. Murad, or Morad, mar-

* See the siege and massacre at Thessalonica. Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 433.—M

cribed from the historian of the Othman empire: but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profusion, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries; and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Mussulman: the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and those of the Prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the cimeter was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves; who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigor of his age and military power, he seldom engaged in war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.¹² The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors, he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg, and the perfidious Caraman was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot; in the conquest of Thessalonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of

be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

¹² See Chalcœdviles (l. vii. pp. 186, 188), Ducas (c. 33), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderberg, pp. 143, 146). In his great faith towards the garrison of Sfetigrade, he was a lesson and example to his son Mahomet.

Amurath is the double abdication of the Turkish throne and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher,¹³ who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasurable residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusades, the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks. The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round* in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age, disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure

¹³ Voltaire (*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, c. 83, pp. 283, 284) admires *le Philosophe Turc*: would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince returning to a monastery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

¹⁴ See the articles *Dervische*, *Fakir*, *Nassar*, *Kohbanat*, in D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

¹⁵ Ricaut (on the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, pp. 242-268) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervises, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichids* of Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 280), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

* Gibbon has fallen into a remarkable error. The unmonastic retreat of Amurath was that of an epicurean rather than of a dervish; more like the Sardanapalus than of Charles the Fifth. Profane, not divine, love was its occupation; the only dance, that described by Horace as belonging to the country, *motus docti gaudet Ionicos*. See Von Hammer, note, p. 632—M.

repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms:¹⁶ but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England:¹⁷ but Philip duke of Burgundy was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians; and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience. a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the

¹⁶ In the year 1431, Germany raised 40,000 horse, men-at-arms, against the Hussites of Bohemia (L'enfant, Hist. du Concille de Basle, tom. I. p. 315). At the siege of Nuys, on the Rhine, in 1471, the princes, prelates, and cities, sent their respective quotas, and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 8000 foot, all in green, with 1200 wagons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline by the powers of Germany.

¹⁷ It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of some months. (See Rymer's Fœdera, and the chronicles of both nations.)

loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the influence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by circumstances of the times:¹⁸ by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus,¹⁹ a young and ambitious soldier; by the valor of a hero, whose name, the name John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardor of the Christians beyond the Danube who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek Emperor,²⁰ with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sail from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania²¹ announced the treaty of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the Straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be severed and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God and his divine mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sopl

¹⁸ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1443, 1444*) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

¹⁹ I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (*l. i. li. pp. 417-486*), Bonfilius (*Decad. iii. l. iv.*), Spondanus, and Lantani.

²⁰ The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in their crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

²¹ Cantemir (*p. 88*) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes an animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers seldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valor and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.²¹ The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained; the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols of an oath.²²

²¹ In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians slay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (*Aneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5, and epist. 14, 81, apud Spondanum*).

²² See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the vith and viith books of the ind decad of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. pp. 487-496) is still more pure and authentic.

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal,²⁴ "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still you have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies: war was resolved, on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of Infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first license, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an

²⁴ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. pp. 505-507), Bonhinus (dec. iii. l. vi. pp. 457, 468), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Varna.

inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a movable fortification of wagons. The latter was judiciously preferred: the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Varna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.²⁵

It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurnth himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer

²⁵ Varna, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellerius, tom. i. p. 374. D'Anville, tom. i. p. 312). According to Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine* (pp. 24, 25, in the first volume of Hudson's *Geographers*), it was situate 1710 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2110 from Byzantium, and 300 to the north of a ridge or promontory of Mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposed to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniade. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset: but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends. When Amurat beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.²⁰ With inferior numbers and disordered ranks the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath;²¹ he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss; he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna; the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must

²⁰ Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had not been sworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. vi. p. 516. Spondan. A. D. 1444, No. 8).

²¹ A critic will always distrust these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valor to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, pp. 90, 91). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517) more simply and probably affirms, *supereminentibus Janizariis, telorum multitudine, non tam confossus est, quam obrutus.*

be the consequence of a second and similar victory.* At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valor, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth.²⁸

Before I lose sight of the field of Varna, I am tempted to pause on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian²⁹ Cæsarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the sciences of divinity and law; and his versatile genius was equally adapted to the schools, the camp, and the court. No sooner had he been invested with the Roman purple, than he was sent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit of persecution is unworthy of a Christian; the military profession ill becomes a priest; but the former is excused by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who stood dauntless and alone in the disgraceful flight of the German host. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Basil; but the president soon appeared the most strenuous champion of ecclesiastical freedom; and an opposition of seven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the strongest measures against the authority and person of Eugenius, some secret motive of interest or conscience engaged him to desert on a sudden the popular party. The cardinal withdrew himself from Basil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depths of his theological erudition.³⁰ In his Hungarian embassy, we have already seen the mischievous effects of his sophistry and eloquence,

²⁸ Besides some valuable hints from *Æneas Sylvius*, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, *Philippus Callimachus* (*de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Reges gestis*, lib. iii. in *Bel. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum*, tom. i. pp. 433-518), *Bonfinius* (*decad. iii. l. v. pp. 460-467*), and *Chalcondyles* (*l. vii. pp. 165-179*). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (*Fabrie. Bibliot. Latin. Med. et Infimæ ætatis*, tom. i. p. 321. *Vossius, de Hist. Latin. l. iii. c. 8. l. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, BONFINIUS*). A small tract of *Felix Petancius*, chancellor of Segna (*ad calcem Cuspinian. de Cæsaribus*, pp. 716-722), represents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

²⁹ M. Lantant has described the origin (*Hist. du Concile de Basle*, tom. i. p. 247, &c.) and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.) of Cardinal Julian. His services at Basil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occasionally related by Spondanus and the continuator of Flourey.

³⁰ *Syropulus* honorably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117): τοιαυτα τινα ειπεν ο Ιουλιανος πεπλατυσμενως αγαν και λογικως, και μετ' επιστημης και δειροτητος Ήτρονικης.

of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was slain in the defeat of Varna. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed, that a weighty cumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the covarice of some Christian fugitives.

From an humble, or at least a doubtful, origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the surname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome.²¹ In his youth he served in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valor of the *white knight*²² was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortune by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders he won in the same year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public distress the fatal errors of Varna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of desultory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancu Lain*, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to

²¹ See Bonfinius, *decad.* lli. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the casual, though glorious epithet of a single branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

²² Philip de Comines (*Mémoires*, l. vi. c. 13), from the tradition of the times mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimsical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcondyles, and the Turkish annals of Leunclavius presume to accuse his fidelity or valor.

their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable when they fondly believed the captain and his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Varna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria, and in the plain of Cossova, sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the Second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom.³³ About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character.³⁴

In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated,³⁵ and they are both entitled to our

³³ See Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. viii. p. 492) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, No. 1-7). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capistran, a Francis. can friar, and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescended to take notice of his rival's merit.

³⁴ See Bonfinius, decad. iii. l. viii.—decad. iv. l. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus are curious and critical (A. D. 1461, No. 1, 1473, No. 6, 1476, No. 11-16, 1480, No. 1. 6). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum* (pp. 322-412) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wise and facetious sayings are registered by Galeusius Matthus of Narul (528-568), and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the first vol. of Bel's *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*.

³⁵ They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing *Essay on Heroic Virtue* (Works, vol. iii. p. 385), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing a royal crown; Belisarius, Narses, Gonzalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delay the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father Scanderbeg,⁸⁶ was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the marks of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy.⁸⁷ The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favor of Amurat and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskender beg*, or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honor in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes, that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Mussulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach: he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous though tardy, zeal, with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his

⁸⁶ I could wish for some simple authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Moribus, & Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c., lib. i. xiii. p. 367. Argentorat 1637, in fol.) his gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcondyles, l. vii. p. 186, l. viii. p. 228.

⁸⁷ His circumcision, education, &c., are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7).

ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty³⁸ could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight: but a long oblivion has surely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harbored the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that could serve only to betray, that could promise only to be forsworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Huniades, while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous desertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal secretary: with the dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no sooner did he command the fortress, than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation; abjured the prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial

³⁸ Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1468, in the 17th year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii p. 370), he was born in 1451, since he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was *novennis* (Marinus, l. i pp. 1, 6), that event must have happened in 1442, nine years before the accession of Amurat II., who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian throne. Spoudanus has remarked this inconsistency, A. D. 1431, No. 31, 1443, No. 14.

estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats;³⁹ the entire sum, exempt from the demands of luxury, strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command; and under his conduct Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service: his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active; but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blow of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the Second, and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania: he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches in mosques, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives: but the conquest of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrad and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple.⁴⁰ Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary;⁴¹ and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan.⁴² In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom the domestic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised:

³⁹ His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44).

⁴⁰ There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian; the former, 70 miles from Croya, (l. i. p. 17), was contiguous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. pp. 130, 140). We want a good map of Epirus.

⁴¹ Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 93) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the 1vth, vii, and viii books of the Albanian priest, which has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

⁴² In honor of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. pp. 188-192) kills the sultan by disease, indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succor of the king of Naples.⁴³ Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned, that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers; in his extreme danger he applied to Pope Pius the Second for a refuge in the ecclesiastical state; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus, on the Venetian territory.⁴⁴ His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valor. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck; the Castriots⁴⁵

⁴³ See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the 15th and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or silence of Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xiii. p. 291), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetti de Rabus Francisci Sfortie, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. xvi. p. 72, et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Sfrutiots*, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (*Mémoires de Comines*, l. viii. c. 5).

⁴⁴ Spondanus, from the best evidence, and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A. D. 1461, No. 20, 1463, No. 3, 1465, No. 12, 13, 1467, No. 1). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28), a refugee in the neighboring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

⁴⁵ See the family of the Castriots, in Ducango (*Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c.*, xviii. pp. 348-350).

were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.⁴⁶

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the pri-ince of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade,⁴⁷ the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monk's profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far from being so great in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the dominion of Selymbria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled by the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste: the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the emperor, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor: and the emperor, Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Amurath. Amurath received him with honor and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of his new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea; and

⁴⁶ This colony of Albanians is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (*Travels into Two Sicilies*, vol. i. pp. 450-464).

⁴⁷ The Chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but instead of five years and seven months, Spondanus (*A. D.* 1146, No. 7) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Ethiopia.

the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.⁴⁸

The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above a hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the Barbarians,⁴⁹ and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India,⁵⁰ from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea.⁵¹ From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife, Maria,⁵² the daughter of the Servian despot,

⁴⁸ Phranza (l. iii. c. 1-6) deserves credit and esteem.

⁴⁹ Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefsiddin, l. iii. c. 6.); he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

⁵⁰ The happy and pious Indians lived a hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale: dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formicus Indicus*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

⁵¹ He sailed in a country vessel from the spice islands to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem Ibericam, quæ in Portugalliam est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 50), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

⁵² Cantemir (p. 83), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen

had been honorably restored to her parents; on the faith of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious object that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance, the bar of infinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was nearly fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the only alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favor of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter, he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand, ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death of my mother and of Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without interest or passion,"⁶⁴ I am surrounded," said the emperor, "by men whom I can neither love nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; o

of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1421. It will not easily be believed, that in six-and-twenty years' cohabitation, the sultan could ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22).

⁶³ The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (*Iliad*, l. v. 14) and the general practice of antiquity.

⁶⁴ Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm assertor of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (*Syropulus*, pp. 138, 145).

stinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views; and how can I consult the monks on questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succor of the Western powers; from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular commission; and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress."—"Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible; but deign, great sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am thus perpetually absent from my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favorite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy; and Phranza had resolved, that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public designs, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND.—SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST, OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS.—SERVITUDE OF THE GREEKS.—EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST.—CONSTERNATION OF EUROPE.—CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF MAHOMET THE SECOND.

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts the first attention to the person and character of the great conqueror. Mahomet the Second¹ was the son of the sultan Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the harem of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Mussulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above himself; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran: his private indiscretion may have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue it is affirmed th

¹ For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (*l. c.* 83), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Sponius (*A. D.* 1451, No. 11), and the continuator of Fleury (*tom.* xxi. p. 452), the *Vita* of Paulus Jovius (*l. iii.* pp. 164-166), and the *Dictionnaire de Bayle* (*tom.* pp. 272-279).

² *Cantemir* (p. 116), and the mosques which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius the two religions (*Spond.* *A. D.* 1453, No. 22).

he spoke or understood five languages,³ the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over which he was ambitious to reign; his own praises in Latin poetry⁴ or prose⁵ might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West,⁶ excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy.⁷ But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the

³ *Quinque linguas præter suam noverat, Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Persicam.* The Latin translator of Phranza has dropped the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Mussulman.*

⁴ Philéplus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philéplus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his *Life* by M. Lancelot, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. pp. 718, 724, &c.).

⁵ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xii. books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismund Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

⁶ According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these lives are a school of freedom as well as of valor.

⁷ The famous Gentile Bollino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

* It appears in the original Greek text, p. 85. edit. Bonn.—M.

† Von Hammer disdunfully rejects this fable of Mahomet's knowledge of languages. Kneller adds, that he delighted in reading the history of Alexander the Great, and of Julius Cæsar. The former, no doubt, was the Persian legend, which, it is remarkable, came back to Europe, and was popular throughout the middle ages as the "Romant of Alexander." The founder of the Imperial dynasty of Rome, according to M. Von Hammer, is altogether unknown in the East. Mahomet was a great patron of Turkish literature: the romantic poems of Persia were translated, or imitated, under his patronage. Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 288.—M.

voluntary of love.* His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three on the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness.[†] But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonored by unnatural lust. In the Albanian war he studied the lessons and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but to compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements of Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies, their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Atlantic, and his arms were checked by Huniades and Sigismund, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty. He twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never did he forgive the viziers who had recommended that measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which denounced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigor commanded the obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard, at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the viziers, the emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the slaves fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to rejoice: he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedi-

* These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I., Selim II., and Amurat III. (Cantemir p. 61). The sultans of Persia can produce a more regular and temperate reign, and in the last age, our European travellers were the witnesses and co-partakers of their revels.

† This story, the subject of Johnson's *Irene*, is rejected by M. Von Hammer p. 208. The German historian's general estimate of Mahomet's reign agrees in its more marked features with Gibbon's.—M.

the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers.* The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbors of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and a useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service, or enlisted in his troops.† In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.¹⁰

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture.¹¹

* Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptized at Rome under the name of Callistus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cesaribus, pp. 672, 673).

¹⁰ See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33), Phranza, l. i. c. 33, l. iii. c. 2), Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 199), and Cantemir (p. 96).

¹¹ Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople, I shall observe, that except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest; such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. pp. 723-760). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20), Chalcondyles (l. viii. pp. 201-214), and Leonardus Chi-

* Ahmed, the son of a Greek princess, was the object of his especial jealousy. Von Hammer, p. 691.—M.

† The Janizaries obtained, for the first time, a gift on the accession of a new sovereign, p. 694.—M.

Instead of laboring to be forgotten, their ambassador sued his camp, to demand the payment, and even to increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizier, a secret friend to Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense to his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said he, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your danger! The scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist: and if you escape from our hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet reserves the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive, crown him sultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured that you will only provoke an accelerated ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizier, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speech of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a manifesto to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed a hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress formerly been raised by his grandfather; in the opposition, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton,

ensis (*Historia C. P. a Turco expugnata*. Nollmberghæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 pp.). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the Isle of Chios, the 16th of August, 1453, only seventy-nine days after the fall of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints are added from an epistle of Cardinal Isidore (in *Parragine Rerum Turcicarum* calicem Chalcondyl. Clausen, Basil, 1556) to Pope Nicholas V., and a Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1531 to Martin (Turco-Grecia, l. i. pp. 74-98, Basil, 1584). The various facts and materials, though critically reviewed by Spondanus (*A. D.* 1453, No. 1-2) hearsay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins I shall take leave to regard.*

* M. Von Hammer has added little new information on the siege of Constantinople, and, by his general agreement, has borne an honorable testimony to the truth, and by his close imitation to the graphic spirit and boldness of the original.—M.

five miles from the Greek metropolis.¹² Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moslems trembled; and, for a while, the *Gabours*¹³ insulted our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Varna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground is my own: as far as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king, that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and that *he* performs more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety—but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,¹⁴ had determined to unsheathe the sword,

¹² The situation of the fortresses, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gillius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. ii. c. 13), Leunclavius (*Pandect.*, p. 113), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le Levant*, tom. ii. lettre xv. pp. 413, 414); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to chap. xvii. of this History.

¹³ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the infidels is expressed *Ka3ono* by Ducas, and *Ganour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (*Gloss. Græc.* tom. i. p. 530) from *Ka3onoov*, in vulgar Greek, a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of him to those of the crucifix. (D'Hérbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 373.)

¹⁴ Phrauræ does justice to his master's sense and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit, and stigmatizes the folly of the cum sacri tunc profani principes, which he had heard, amentes spe vanæ pasci. Ducas was not a privy-counsellor.

and to resist the approach and establishment of the on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended tom less generous, and even less prudent, than his o approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the man with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to d on chance and time for their own safety, and the destr of a fort which could not long be maintained in the borhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hoj fear, the fears of the wise, and the hopes of the cred the winter rolled away; the proper business of each and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shu eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ru

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are s disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the app spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swa Turkish artificers; and the materials by sea and land diligently transported from Europe and Asia.¹⁵ Th had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut de the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the stones dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the the masons was assisted by two workmen; and a meas two cubits was marked for their daily task. The for was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanke strong and massy tower; one on the declivity of tl two along the sea-shore: a thickness of twenty-two fe assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the building was covered with a solid platform of lead. homet himself pressed and directed the work with fatigable ardor: his three viziers claimed the honor ishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhi lated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labor w nobled by the service of God and the sultan; and tl gence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of pot, whose smile was the hope of fortune and whose was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor with terror the irresistible progress of the work; and strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an implacab

¹⁵ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (C p 97) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an anti-C prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

¹⁶ In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phraet not exactly agree with Chalcondyles, whose description has been verified spot by spot by his editor Leunclavius.

who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to Saint Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives;¹⁷ and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone; if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute on the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet.* The master and thirty sailors

¹⁷ Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigor, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sunset.

* This was from a model cannon cast by Urban the Hungarian. See p. 379. Von Hammer, p. 510.—M.

escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in at the *Porte*: the chief was impaled; his companion beheaded; and the historian Ducas¹⁸ beheld, at D their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; the Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the attention of the brothers of Constantine. At this æra of one of these princes, the despot Thomas, was he afflicted with the birth of a son; "the last heir," plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."¹⁹

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and a less winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the same loss or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardor of his youth and temper: he amused himself with building at Adrianople²⁰ the lofty palace of Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the East of Rome. At the dead of night, about the second of January, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant execution of his prime vizier. The message, the hour, the place, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Basha; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the new vizier was confirmed in his office and the appearance in favor; but the veteran statesman was not insensible to the danger he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friend the Christians, which might be innocent under the late had stigmatized him with the name of Gabour-Ortogh, foster-brother of the infidels;²¹ and his avarice entered into a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was exposed and punished after the conclusion of the war. On the

¹⁸ Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3), who had sailed in his vessel, rates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

¹⁹ Auctum est Palmologorum genus, et Imperii successor, parvulus orum schuilla hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7). The expression was inspired by his feelings.

²⁰ Cantemir, pp. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his own ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom sometimes be ruined by the imperial fortune of their sovereign.

²¹ Συμπαφός, by the president Cousin, is translated *patre nourricier*, rectly indeed from the Latin version, but in his haste he has overlooked by which Ishmael Bollaud (ad Ducam, c. 35) acknowledges and rectifies

the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude.²² "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more valuable and important;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizier had recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence, and thy power, assure thy success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes."—"Lala"²³ (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? All the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans: in arms we are superior; and with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople." To sound the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone, and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane* or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek ser-

²² The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, *Ehlan*, *Hist. Var.* l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

²³ The *Lala* of the Turks (*Cantemir*, p. 34) and the *Tata* of the Greeks (*Duclos*, c. 36) are derived from the natural language of children, and it may be observed, that all such primitive words which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or a dental consonant and an open vowel (*Dés Brosses*, *Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. 1. pp. 231-247).

* Gibbon has written Dane by mistake for Dace, or Dacian. *Δάξ το γένος*. Chalcondyles, *Von Hammer*, p. 610.—M.

vice, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their strength; but we are more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power: the position and management of the engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance a foundry was established at Adrianople; the metal prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds.²⁴ A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the extraordinary and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, an edict was issued, that the cannon would be discharged on the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in the distance of a hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it had buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the purpose of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in this arduous journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A philosopher²⁵ derides on this occasion the credulity of the Turks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He relates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of

²⁴ The Attic talents weighed about sixty minæ, or avoirdupois [Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, &c.], but among the moderns the classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, *ταλαντον*). Leonardus Chiensis measured the stone of the second cannon. *Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex mensura* *LYRO.*

²⁵ See Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xci. pp. 294, 295). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the post frequently aspires to the name and station of astronomer, a chemist, &c.

* 1200, according to Leonardus Chiensis. Von Hammer states that he himself seen the great cannon of the Dardanelles, in which a tailor, far away from his creditors, had concealed himself several days. Von Hammer measured balls twelve spans round. Note, p. 666.—M.

and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers, nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds' weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder: at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments; traversed the strait; and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.²⁶

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary; by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favor the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honor was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy.* Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbors.²⁷ Even the princes of

²⁶ The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. pp. 83-99) who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess, and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

²⁷ Non audivit, indignum ducens, says the honest Antoninus, but as the

* See the curious Christian and Mahometan predictions of the fall of Constantinople, Von Hammer, p. 318.—M.

the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the hope, that by his clemency they might survive the fall of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine basely withdrew from the danger of their country; avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for himself the secret treasures which might have raised the defence of the empire. whole armies of mercenaries.²⁸ The indigent solitary prince prepared, however, to sustain his forlorn adversary; but if his courage were equal to the post, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the low villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: suburbs were spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek fleet on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, yielded on the first summons; Selymbria alone deserved honors of a siege or blockade; and the bold invader while they were invested by land, launched their boats along the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their cargoes in the public market. But on the approach of Michael VIII. himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at a distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and on the sixth day of April formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbor; the Janizaries in front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philanthropos who resided in Greece about thirty years before the fall of the empire is confident, that all the Turkish forces of any name could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusilla-

Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more copious expression of Platina, in animo fuisse pontificis juvare Græcos, and the assertion of Aeneas Sylvius, structam classem, &c. (Spond. A. D. 1463,

²⁸ Antonin. in Proem.—Epist. Cardinal. Isidori, apud Spondanum, Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized the characteristic allusion:—

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had ranged embattled nations at their gates.

of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*,²⁹ the troops of the Porte who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalecondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.³⁰ The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war: and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property, has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were

²⁹ The palatine troops are styled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Serviculi*, and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience, Count Maralglé has composed his military state of the Ottoman empire.

³⁰ The observation of Philéppus is approved by Caspian in the year 1598 (*de Cæsariis*, in *Epilog. de Militia Turcica*, p. 697). Maralglé proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chionensis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

intrusted to Phranza;⁸¹ and, after a diligent add informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his minister this comfortless secret was preserved; an ancient proportion of shields, crossbows, and musk distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. ' rived some accession from a body of two thousand six hundred under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese. A liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and princely recompense, the Isle of Lemnos, was promised for the valor and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbor: it was supplied with some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchant ships, and the ships of every Christian nation, that succeeded in arriving from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of fifteen miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the invaders; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks sustained a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succor or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their courage in the resolution of death or conquest. The pagans and Christians might have embraced each other, and with patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. The Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the love of religion, and that spirit was productive only of anarchy and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Comnenus had renounced the unpopular measure of a union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distressed emperor Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation.⁸² With the demand of temporal aid, his counselors were instructed to mingle the assurance of absolute obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes for the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican ha

⁸¹ Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas ex tribui non absque dolore et molestia, et apud nos duces eius ocnitus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 8). With some leniency for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness of public facts, but of private counsels.

⁸² In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but false. The bishop of Pauliers died in 1642, and the history of Duca, which relates these scenes (c. 36, 37) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till 1649.

too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity.²³ Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius,²⁴ to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed

²³ Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleasure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l. iii. c. 20).

²⁴ His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union, which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. x. p. 760-766) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343-383) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

on the door of his cell a speaking tablet ; and they s
sively withdrew, after reading these tremendous v
“ O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth
why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your tr
the Italians ? In losing your faith you will lose you
Have mercy on me, O Lord ! I protest in thy presenc
I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans, cor
pause, and repent. At the same moment that you ren
the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, yo
mit to a foreign servitude.” According to the adv
Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels, a
proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjur
communion with the present and future associates
Latins ; and their example was applauded and imitat
the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the
astery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in th
erns ; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope : er
their glasses in honor of the image of the holy Virgin
besought her to defend against Mahomet the city whi
had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan.
double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiant
claimed, “ What occasion have we for succor, or un
Latins ? Far from us be the worship of the Azym
During the winter that preceded the Turkish conque
nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy ; an
season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of bre
charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinac
influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinize
alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a ri
penance was imposed on those who had received the
union from a priest who had given an express o
consent to the union. His service at the altar prop
the infection to the mute and simple spectators of th
emony : they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the
of the sacerdotal character ; nor was it lawful, e
danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance o
prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church
Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it w
serted as a Jewish synagogue, or a heathen temple,
clergy and people ; and a vast and gloomy silence pr
in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked
cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, a
sounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving
Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels

the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat.³⁵ A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbor by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,³⁶ the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honor of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire, of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breastplates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their

³⁵ Φαρισκαίον, καὶ ἑρπῆς, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits unbliterated the schism.

³⁶ We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the writers of Russia, of 517 French fathoms, and of 304 to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, no. 61 173, &c.).

inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the explosions of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion.⁸⁷ The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the same energy of zeal, riches and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal stature:⁸⁸ the long order of the Turkish artillery was planted against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is biguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet in the power and activity of the old cannon, we may discern the infancy of the new science. The master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one hour. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several were destroyed; and the skill of an artist† was applied, who bethought himself of preventing the danger of an accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian engineer, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. In the imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made a deep impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to

⁸⁷ At indies doctores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinam; tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat utriusque modicus exigua; tela modica; si aderant incommoitate loci primum hostes offendere, mactabantque tectos, non poterant. Nam si quæ magnæ erant, ne maurus connostrer, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and ancient.

⁸⁸ According to Chalcondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst; and which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. I doubt that they do not speak of the same gun.*

⁸⁹ Near a hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 800 shots in an engagement of two hours (Mémoires de Martin du Bellay, l. x., in the Collection Générale, xxi. p. 230).

* They speak, one of a Byzantine, one of a Turkish gun. Von Hammer, p. 669.

† The founder of the gun. Von Hammer, p. 626.

enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault.⁴⁰ Innumerable fascines, and hogsheds, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replonishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.⁴¹ A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram * were directed against the same walls: nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides: incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the

⁴⁰ I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the abbe de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance; and as he wrote to please the order, he had adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

⁴¹ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. I. p. 324). They were first practised by Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honor and improvement in 1501 is ascribed to Peter of Navarro, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. pp. 93-97).

* The battering-ram, according to Von Hammer (p. 670), was not used.—*M.*

attack with fresh vigor and decisive success. Of this pa of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improv by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who pas the night on the spot, and urged the labors which involv the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and gr that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the di was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Roman was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have co pelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a tu could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold a tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constanti had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Mor and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as t beginning of April, five⁴² great ships, equipped for merche dise and war, would have sailed from the harbor of Chi had not the wind blown obstinately from the north.⁴³ O of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining fo belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with whe and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables. and, above a with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capit. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the secon day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through t Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was alread invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at t entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shor in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repe these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to h mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will co ceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The fi Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, an a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet o three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coast of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectator, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succo

⁴² It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels, the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus, and t *two* of Chalcondyles, must be extended to the smaller, or confined to larger, siz Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III., confounds the emperors o the East and West.

⁴³ In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president Courin detains them in Chios with a south, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valor must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels;⁴⁴ and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and a closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valor by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body,⁴⁵ seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamors of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They

⁴⁴ The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be observed in Rieaut (*State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 372-374), Thevenot (*Voyages*, P. I. pp. 229-242), and Tott (*Mémoires*, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

⁴⁵ I must confess, that I have before my eyes the living picture which Theophrastus (I. vii. c. 71) has drawn of the passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbor of Syracuse.

fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and As the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered to the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the harbor. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to the will of the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some conspicuous wound in his eye, by representing that it was the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the Bulgarian princes: his military glory was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; a despotism of the prince or people, misfortune and guilt were the evidence of guilt.* His rank and services were diminished by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal council, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground board, and received one hundred strokes with a gold rod; death had been pronounced; and he adored the will of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of the Greeks revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the weakness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusaders found themselves in a voluntary and inevitable great situation of the Imperial city was strong against the Turks, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and powerful armament of the maritime states might have saved the Roman name, and maintained a Christian empire at the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was a feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; more distant powers were insensible of its danger; the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, did not stir the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and the operations, of the sultan.⁴⁷

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate into the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the power of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat; but would have been speedily raised, if the ambi-

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (the bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libras, the laud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to enable Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

⁴⁷ Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of the East, is a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20) and Spondan.

* According to Ducas, one of the Afabi beat out his eye with a mace Von Hammer.—M.

ousy of the second vizier had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbor as well as from the land; but the harbor was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbor. The distance is about ten * miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be open behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Four-score light galleys and brigantines, of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel: the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labor was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbor, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired: but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations.⁴⁸ A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients; ⁴⁹ the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should

⁴⁸ The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to contract the distance of *ten* * miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

⁴⁹ Phiranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles

* Six miles. Von Hammer.—M.

be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the nitide and the distance, the obstacles and the mean boasted miracle⁶⁰ has perhaps been equalled by the ind of our own times.⁶¹ As soon as Mahomet had occupie upper harbor with a fleet and army, he constructed, i narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cub breadth, and one hundred in length: it was formed of and hogsheads; joined with rafters, linked with iron covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he pl one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most acce side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin querors. The indolence of the Christians has been ac for not destroying these unfinished works; † but then by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vess well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prev their approach; their foremost galiots were sunk or t forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were manly massacred at his command; nor could the emp grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliati exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and Mussulman captives. After a siege of forty days, th of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The di tive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the f cations, which had stood for ages against hostile vio were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon: breaches were opened: and near the gate of St. Rom four towers had been levelled with the ground. Fo payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Consta was compelled to despoil the churches with the prom a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a nc proach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of di impaired the remnant of the Christian strength; the oese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the preëminen

of the Isthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the b Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth centu these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal, to introduce his into the harbor of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii, p. 743, edit. Gronov).*

⁶⁰ A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar unde (Spond. A. D. 1438, No. 37), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Ma

⁶¹ I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canad years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labor, so fruitless in the event.

* Von Hammer gives a longer list of such transportations, p. 533. Dion distinctly relates the occurrence treated as fabulous by Gibbon.—M.

† They were betrayed, according to some accounts, by the Genoese of Von Hammer, p. 538.—M.

their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city.⁵² The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honor, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favorite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs, and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,⁵³ should not escape from

⁵² Chalcondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the negotiation; and as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful Phranza spars his prince even the thought of surrender.

⁵³ These wings (Chalcondyles, l. viii. p. 208) are no more than an Oriental figure; but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's passion seems above sense and reason:—

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
Bear him aloft among the wondering clouds,
And sent him in the Pleiads' golden chariot—
Then should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Besides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, 1. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiast ad Homer, 2. 686. Eudoria in Ioult, p. 309. Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10. Heyne, p. 228, Not. 682), and had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ungbeg, Tabul, in Syntagma Dissert. tom. 1. pp. 40, 42. Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c., tom. vi. pp.

his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bash and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents: the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by cessive adoption; and in the gradual change of individual the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *odlu*, is kept alive imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, and their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops: "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valor the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire; the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate honors and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes. Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardor, regardless of life and impatient for action; the camp resounded with the Moslem shouts of "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God on the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, and the city is illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.*

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, in loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their dispatroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender, and anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the

73-78 Gebelin, *Hist. du Calendrier*, p. 73), which Mahomet had studied. 2. A golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or wagon, the zodiac with a northern constellation. —

* Ἀρκετον θ' ἦν καὶ ἑμαζαν ἐπικλησιν καλεουσιν II. Σ. 487.

* Piranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of Mahomet, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and ridiculous.

* The picture is heightened by the addition of the wailing cries of Kyrie eleison, which were heard from the dark interior of the city. Von Hammer, p. 241.

pose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire: ⁵⁵ he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair, and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; ⁵⁶ and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.*

In the confusion of darkness, an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenu-

⁵⁵ I am afraid that this disclosure was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

⁵⁶ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 400 times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

* Compare the very curious Armenian elegy on the fall of Constantinople, translated by M. Boré, in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1835; and by M. Brosset, in the new edition of *Le Beau* (tom. xxi. p. 304). The author thus ends his poem: "I, Abraham, loaded with sins, have composed this elegy with the most lively sorrow; for I have seen Constantinople in the days of its glory."—M.

ously employed : the troops, the cannons, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach, and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the pikes and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbor. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined ; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear ; each individual might suppress his voice, but he could not measure his footsteps ; but the march and labor of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissimilar clamors, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land, and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.⁸⁷ The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command ; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants, vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the false hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall ; the most audacious to die were instantly precipitated ; and not a dart, not a bullet of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence : the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain ; they supported the footsteps of their companions ; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective banners and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge ; their progress was variously doubtful ; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks maintained, and improved their advantage ; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of the valor : he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion ; the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish ; and if d

⁸⁷ Besides the 10,000 guard, and the sailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

ger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honor. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries, and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?"—"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act he stained the honors of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the Isle of Chios, were imbittered by his own and the public reproach.⁶⁶ His example was imitated by the

⁶⁶ In the severe censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Duca; but the words of Leonardus Chienje express his strong and recent indignation, *gloria salutis sanguine oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.*

* M. Brosset has given some extracts from the Georgian account of the siege of Constantinople, in which Justiniani's wound in the left foot is represented as more serious. With charitable ambiguity the chronicler adds, that his soldiers carried him away with them in their vessel.—M.

greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins: in a circle of several miles, some places must be found more easily accessible, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hussan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his cineter in one hand and his buckler in the other, he defended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the brave adventure. Hussan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart: he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that such an achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor,⁶⁰ who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honorable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?"⁶¹ and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.⁶² The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city, and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the

⁶⁰ Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phran carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:—

As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
And where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good sword had digged.

⁶¹ Spondanus (A. D. 1453, No. 16), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to solve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

⁶² Leonardus Chienalis very properly observes, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have labored to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan.

gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbor.⁶³ In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valor of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.⁶³

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.⁶⁴ But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning* must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like a herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the

⁶³ Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbor, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

⁶⁴ Chaleondylas most absurdly supposes, that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks into the more classical name of *Teucris*.

⁶⁵ When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives. Herodotus (l. i. c. 19.) and Usher (Annal. p. 78), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

* This refers to an expression in Ducas, who, to heighten the effect of his description, speaks of the "sweet morning sleep, resting on the eyes of youths and maidens," p. 288. Edit. Bekker.—Ed.

inside, and they sought protection from the sacred edifice which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia; that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take the sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the East." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly; the victorious Romans would drive them from the West; and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It was on this occasion that Ducak, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "That angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he not to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God."

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in binding and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates, the porters of the church; and young men of the plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of his father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the young who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and disheveled hair; and we should piously be thankful that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem

⁶⁵ This lively description is extracted from Ducak (c. 39), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44). Lesbos was subdued in 1483 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27), that island must have been the refuge of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to add to, tales of their misery.

to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations, of the capital; nor could any place, however sacred and sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom: in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of the horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin: his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover.⁶⁵ A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family.⁶⁷ The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21 His expressions are positive. *Ameras sua mand jugulavit * * * volebit enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me misitum et infelicem!* Yet he could only learn from report the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.

⁶⁶ See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. 1 p. 240) and Lavelet (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 714). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

⁶⁷ The commentaries of Pius II. suppose that he cruelly placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and delivered as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spondanus, A. D. 1459, No. 15) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.

* He was sold as a slave in Galata according to von Hammer, p. 560. See the somewhat vague and declamatory letter of Cardinal Isidore, in the appendix to Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 633—M.

The chain and entrance of the outward harbor was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They signalized their valor in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the bay was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Genoa evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is demned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity; the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and even those passions may be indulged without control, small, as is the difference between civilized and savage man. At the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turk is not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood; but according to their maxims (the maxims of humanity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the vice, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit, and the rewards of valor were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had shared the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of these depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction; the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats;⁷⁰ and of this a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of the foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or decaying buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their coun-

⁷⁰ Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war the use of slavery, among the ancients and the Turks (*de Legat. Turcicâ*, lib. i. p. 181).

⁷¹ This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (*Chalcondylæ* viii. p. 211), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropped. Even the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one-fourth.

The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God,⁷¹ was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchens, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Mussulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamor, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared;⁷² ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour⁷³ of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day: when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his viziers, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules,

⁷¹ See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17).

⁷² See Ducas (c. 43), and an epistle, July 18th, 1451, from Laurus Quirinus to Pope Nicholas V. (*Holy de Græcis*, p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton library).

⁷³ The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten o race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror⁷⁴ gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange, though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he entered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw o of these monsters,⁷⁵ which in the eyes of the Turks were idols or talismans of the city.* At the principal door of St Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Mussulman in act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished with his cimeter, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had reserved for the prince. By his command the metro of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque; rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed, the crosses were thrown down; and the vessels which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin* crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed *ezan*, or public invitation in the name of God and prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Seraph performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.⁷⁶ From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, mansion of a degraded successor of the great Constantine, but which a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has woven his

⁷⁴ See the Turkish Annals, p. 329, and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 44

⁷⁵ I have had occasion (vol. ii. p. 100), to mention this curious relic of Greek antiquity

⁷⁶ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102) for the Turkish account of the ceremony of St Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amazing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Mahometan and a Christian eye.

* Ven Hammer passes over this circumstance, which is treated by Dr. C. (Travels, vol ii. p 56, 4to. edit.) as a fiction of Thevenot. Chishull states the monument was broken by some attendants of the Polish ambassador.--

in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab." ⁷⁷

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honor and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes: the Greeks acknowledged, with tears, the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy,⁷⁸ Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honors of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke,⁷⁹ and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?"—"They were yours," answered the slave; "God had reserved them for your hands."—"If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizier; and from this perilous interview he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colors of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to

⁷⁷ This distich, which Chautemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the sack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The same generous feeling excited the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

⁷⁸ I cannot believe with Lucas (see Spondanus, A. D. 1553, No. 13) that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor: he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

⁷⁹ Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Lucas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr Chalcondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

the generous refusal of delivering his children to the lust.* Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unglorious word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succor: treason may be glorious; but the rebel who braves death, has justly forfeited his life; nor should we be proud of a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople; and smiled at the base and feeble embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed the proaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate without a prince or a people. But she could not be deserted by the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place ever triumphs over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors in the same commanding spot which had been chosen by the Byzantine.⁵⁰ The fortifications of Galata, which might have been a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the city. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of a seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, the *Grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia. His person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not be secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same

⁵⁰ For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundation of the *Cañemir* (pp. 102-100), Ducas (c. 42), with Thevenot, Tournetort, and other modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, power, &c., of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (*Abîge de l'Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, t. 1, pp. 18-21), we may learn, that in the year 1586 the Moslems were more numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

* Von Hammer relates this undoubtedly, and apparently on good authority, p. 569.—M.

was imitated in the *jami*, or royal mosques; and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles, and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.⁸¹ Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and directed the viziers and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.⁸² The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks⁸³ enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a

⁸¹ The *Turbé*, or sepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is described and engraved in the *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. pp. 305, 306).

⁸² Phranza (l. i. c. 19) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxos, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the History of the Patriarchate after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius (l. v. pp. 106-184). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit Imperium te in patriarchatum novæ Romæ deligit."

⁸³ From the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, &c. Spandanus (A. D. 1453, No. .1, 1468, No. 16) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius threw himself in despair into a well.

concession, but a compact; and that if one half of th had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surre on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original had indeed been consumed by fire: but the loss wa plied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who r bared the transaction; and their venal oaths are of weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positiv unanimous consent of the history of the times.⁸⁴

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom i rope and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms the final extinction of the two last dynasties⁸⁵ which reigned in Constantinople should terminate the declin fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots c Morea, Demetrius and Thomas,⁸⁶ the two surviving bre of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the mon: Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble G who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Ital yond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first s hensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who tented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand d and while his ambition explored the continent and islands, in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in . pite of seven years. But this respite was a period of discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart c Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, coul long be defended by three hundred Italian archers keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks: they reti from their summer excursions with a train of captives spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were l with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a va tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula wi pine and murder: the two despots implored the dang and humiliating aid of a neighboring bashaw; and wh

⁸⁴ Cantemir (pp. 101-105) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turk historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have v the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honor take a city by force than by composition. But, 1. I doubt this consent, a quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople p. viii (p. 323). same argument may be turned in favor of the Greeks of the times, who not have forgotten this honorable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, the Turks to the Christians.

⁸⁵ For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange Byzant. p. 105, for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (l. 215, 248). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next ce but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

⁸⁶ In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two by Phanasa (l. iii. c. 21-30) is too partial on the side of Thomas, Ducas (c. 4 too brief, and Chalcondyles (l. viii. ix. x.) too diffuse and digressive.

had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword: the alms and succor of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province: I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honor." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion* of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea.⁶⁷ In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond;⁶⁸ and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears,† and the example of a Mussulman

* See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcondyles (l. ix. pp. 263-266), Ducas (c. 46), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27), and Cantemir (p. 107).

⁶⁷ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179) speaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyssonnel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72, and for the province, pp. 53-90). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two orders of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazis are commonly enrolled (Mémoires de Tott, tom. iii. pp. 16, 17).

* Kalo-Johannes, the predecessor of David his brother, the last emperor of Trebizond, had attempted to organize a confederacy against Mahomet; it comprehended Hassan Bel, sultan of Mesopotamia, the Christian princes of Georgia and Iberia, the emir of Sinope, and the sultan of Caramania. The negotiations were interrupted by his sudden death, A. D. 1478. Fallmerayer, pp. 257-260.—M.

† According to the Georgian account of these transactions (translated by M. Brosset, additions to Le Beau, vol. xxi. p. 325), the emperor of Trebizond humbly entreated the sultan to have the goodness to marry one of his daughters.

neighbor, the prince of Sinope,⁶⁰ who, on a similarmons, had yielded a fortified city, with four hundred ca and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulatio Trebizond was faithfully performed: * and the emp with his family, was transported to a castle in Rome but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Pe king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacri to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror.† Nor c the name of father long protect the unfortunate D trinus from exile and confiscation; his abject submi moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his follo were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a nastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus fro earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thon be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the h tality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardi His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in It but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdens to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that in itance he successively sold to the kings of France and A gon.⁶¹ During his transient prosperity, Charles the Eli

⁶⁰ Ismael Bag, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly fro copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcond. l. ix. pp. 258, 259). sonnel (Commerces de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100) ascribes to the moder 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous; yet it is by trading v people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

⁶¹ Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. PH II. l. v.) relates the arrival a ception of the despot Thomas at Rome (A. D. 1461, No. 3).

⁶² By an act dated A. D. 1491, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the arc of the Capitol to the Royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologi serving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Cl VIII., king of France, the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Sponc A. D. 1498, No. 2). M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions xvii. pp. 539-578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of whi had obtained a copy from Rome.

* M. Bolesonade has published, in the fifth volume of his *Anecdota Græc* 387, 401), a very interesting letter from George Amiroutzes, protovestiar Trebizond, to Bessarion, describing the surrender of Trebizond, and the fi its chief inhabitants.—M.

† See in Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 80, the striking account of the mothe empress Helena the Cantacuzene, who, in defiance of the edict, like that ol in the Greek tragedy, dug the grave for her murdered children with he hand, and sank into it herself.—M.

was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.⁵² Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country; his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honorable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonored by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings.⁵³ In the midst of the banquet a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a stititious elephant with a castle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle: she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly: they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies and the *pheasant*; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their faith. But the per-

⁵² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to risk, 60 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

⁵³ See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (*Mémoires*, P. 1. c. 29, 30), with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste. Palaye (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*, tom. i. P. iii. pp. 182-185). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

formance was made to depend on some future and fe contingency; and during twelve years, till the last ho his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had breast glowed with the same ardor; had the union o Christians corresponded with their bravery; had country, from Sweden⁵⁴ to Naples, supplied a just p tion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is ir probable that Constantinople would have been deliv and that the Turks might have been chased beyon Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary o emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended e meeting, Æneas Sylvius,⁵⁵ a statesman and orator, desc from his own experience the repugnant state and spi Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without a l a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope an emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images *they* are unable to command, and none are willing to o every state has a separate prince, and every prince l separate interest. What eloquence could unite so r discordant and hostile powers under the same stand Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to as the office of general? What order could be maintaine what military discipline? Who would undertake to such an enormous multitude? Who would unders their various languages, or direct their stranger and in patible manners? What mortal could reconcile the lish with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Gerr with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small 1 ber enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrow the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusi Yet the same Æneas, when he was raised to the r throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the coun Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble ent asin; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to cm in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excu a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; an effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, w

⁵⁴ It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and land, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more pop than at present.

⁵⁵ In the year 1454, Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view c state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable an and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

he was obliged to disband with indulgences and arms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined in their eyes its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age.⁶⁶ His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbor: and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and the Ancient Rome.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (*Istoria Civile*, tom. iii. pp. 419-463) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the *Memorie storiche de Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo* (Venezia, 1677, in 4to.). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her despatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels: he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only 70 pages to Mahomet II. (pp. 69-140), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labors of John Sagredo.

⁶⁷ As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c., were published by the learned diligence of the Geminians. The whole Byzantine series (xxxvi. volumes in folio), has gradually issued (A. D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Chinnamus, Villehardouin, &c., is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles de Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the *Familie Byzantinæ*, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.*

* The new edition of the Byzantines, projected by Niebuhr, and continued under the patronage of the Prussian government, is the most convenient in size, and contains some authors (Leo Diaconus, Johannes Lydus, Corippus, the new fragments of Dexippus, Eunapius, &c., discovered by Mai) which could not be comprised in the former collections; but the names of such editors as Bekker, the Jundorfs, &c., raised hopes of something more than the mere republication of the text, and the notes of former editors. Little, I regret to say, has been added of annotation, and, in some cases, the old incorrect versions have been retained.—M.

CHAPTER LXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY.—TEMPORAL
DOMINION OF THE POPES.—SEDITIONS OF THE CITIZENS.—
POLITICAL HERESY OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.—RESTORATION
OF THE REPUBLIC.—THE SENATORS.—PRIDE OF
THE ROMANS.—THEIR WARS.—THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF
THE ELECTION AND PRESENCE OF THE POPES, WHO
FLEE TO AVIGNON.—THE JUBILEE.—NOBLE FAMILIES
OF ROME.—FEUD OF THE COLONNA AND URSINI.

In the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at last with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the capital to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. In the conquests of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tiber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars; nor was Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: the bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorated the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: its climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer

the same:¹ the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes, about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century,² the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honors, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tiber.³ At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with

¹ The abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has asserted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (*Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, part ii. sect. 16) *

² The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the xlixth chapter of this History.

³ The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. dissertat. ii. p. 97, &c.) and Cenni (*Monument. Domin. Pontif.*, tom. ii. diss. vi. p. 261), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. pp. 255-256).

* This question is discussed at considerable length in Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome*, ch. xxiii. See likewise Bunsen's *Dissertation on the Ara Caelia*. *Rome Beschreibung*, pp. 82, 108.—M.

that of the people; and the public consent was declare the acclamations of "Long life and victory to our lord pope! long life and victory to our lord the emperor! life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"⁴ names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, establish the supreme dominion of the emperors: their title and it was engraved on the papal coins;⁵ and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice awakened by the name, the language, and the manner of a Barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony or France were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamor and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority insulted, and his name was forgotten. The progress of dependence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precarious reign by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence stored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the country. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed the election, and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a pr

⁴ *Exercitus Romano et Teutonico!* The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than *magni nominis umbra*.

⁵ Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat. tom. ii. xxvii. pp. 548-554*). He finds only two more early than the year 600: fifty at least from Leo III. to Leo IX., with the addition of the reigning emperor's name; but in those of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he sees have renounced this badge of dependence.

as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane skeptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of Paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom must engage the favor and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne.⁶ Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honor the residence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably

⁶ See Ducange, *Gloss. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat.* tom. vi. pp. 304, 305, *STAFFA*. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 282); and it was the nearest policy of Rome to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

impaired ; many of the old patrimonial estates, both in the cities and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands, and nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Popin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants : the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the bishops and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had been established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals ;⁷ and from the North and West the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of the apostle, a rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Rhine yet laden with gold and silver ;⁸ but it was soon understood, that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of strangers were ostentatiously displayed ; and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit,⁹ and the Arab who plunders the cars of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and sacrifices for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans ; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the

⁷ The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (*de Consideratione*, l. iii. tom. ii. pp. 431-442, edit. M. Venet. 1760) and the judgment of Fleury (*Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclesiastique* et vii.) But the saint, who believed in the false decretals condemns the abuse of these appeals ; the more enlightened historian investigates the abuse and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence.

⁸ Germanici . . . summarii non levatis sarcinis onusti nihilominus patriant invit. Nova res ! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit ? Et Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus (Bernard, *de Consideratione* l. iii. c. 3, p. 437). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁹ Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique (*Esprit de l'Éc.* v. c. 13) ; and passion and ignorance are always despotic.

grims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious; and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the tables and oracles of the priesthood most powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigor of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favorable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of a superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar, or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop: ¹⁰ nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation: and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely

¹⁰ In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV, John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy *Provinciarum diripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Cressi studeant reparare. Sed iocete cum eis agit Altissinus, quoniam et ipsi alitis et sepe vilissimis hominibus dati sunt in directionem* (*de Nugis Curialium*, l. vi. c. 24, p. 387). In the next page, he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies rounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to and to throw themselves at his feet."¹¹

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their sons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and a series both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties, and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the Genes eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors,¹² till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemnity of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. The repetition¹³ of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I content myself with some events of the twelfth century which represent the state of the popes and the city. Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, was interrupted by the clamors of the multitude, who seriously demanded the confirmation of a favorite r

¹¹ Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given from Fitz-Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Henry, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy, the count of Sees presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a king upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated made all their testicles be brought him in a platter." Of the pain and they might justly complain; yet since they had vowed chastity, he deprived of a superfluous treasure.

¹² From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary account of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Aragon, Pandolphus Pisanus, &c. Guido, &c., is inserted in the Italian Historians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. 1. p. 685), and has been always before my eyes.

¹³ The dates of years in the contents may throughout this chapter be stood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a master, his Collection of the Italian Historians, in xxviii. volumes: and as that treasure in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

trate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces, and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger; he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were imbittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the Second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani,¹⁴ a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.¹⁵ These examples

¹⁴ I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-colored words of Pandulphus Pisanus (p. 384). Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frangipane, more draconis immanissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa auspicia, acinectus retro gladio sine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclesiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, distinxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesie acriter calcibus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesu bono interim dormiente, detraxit, ad domum usque deduxit, inhi catenavit et inclusit.

¹⁵ Ego coram Deo et Ecclesia dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 398).

might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two tiffs of the same age, the second and third of the nan Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle array t sault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone expired in a few days. The latter was severely wound the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, se of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inh Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mot them on asses with their faces towards the tail, and ext an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hoj fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men, an circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain a terval of peace and obedience; and the pope was rest with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, whence he had been driven with threats and violence. the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a mentary calm was preceded and followed by such tem as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome contin presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and l lics: and, after giving peace to Europe, Calistus the Sc alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of pr arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a gei indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius Third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and has stigmatized the vices of the rebellious people.¹⁶ " is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition tractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feebl resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to re if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity o volt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamors, if doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dextero mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing g Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious an themselves, jealous of their neighbors, inhuman to stran they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and v

¹⁶ Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? inueta paci, tumultui assueti, gens irmitis et intractabilis usque adhuc, nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2, p. 441). The takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invia terre et cœlo, utrique in manz, &c. (p. 443).

they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution; adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy.¹⁷ Surely this dark portrait is not colored by the pencil of Christian charity;¹⁷ yet the features, however harsh or ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century.¹⁸

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety.¹⁹ The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia,²⁰ whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as a uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abe-

¹⁷ As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a saint, was a man that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, &c. (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 336.)

¹⁸ Baronius, in his index to the xiiith volume of his *Annals*, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of Roman *Catholics* and *Schismatics*; to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

¹⁹ The heresies of the xuth century may be found in Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccl.* pp. 418-427), who entertains a favorable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the viii volume I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

²⁰ The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Otho, bishop of Frisingen (*Chron. l. vii. c. 31*, de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27, l. ii. c. 21), and in the iud book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunthier, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris near Basil (*Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. Med. et Infimæ ætatis*, tom. iii. pp. 174, 175). The long passage that relates to Arnold is produced by Guiliiman (*de Rebus Helveticis*, l. iii. c. 5, p. 106).*

lard,²¹ who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy, but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; his ecclesiastical judges were edified and disarmed by humility of his repentance. From this master, Arnold, probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumes to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the sword and sceptre were intrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honors and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself must renounce either their state or their salvation; and after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and offerings of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labors. During a short time, the preacher was revered as a patriot and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the faith of the people is less permanent than the resentment of a priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second,²² in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a man of station,²³ a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; with the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the imperial commissaries.²⁴ In an age less ripe for reformat

²¹ The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FORTKES, HELDORN, in his *Dictionnaire critique*. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 412-415).

— *Damnatus ab illo
Præsul, qui numeros vetarum contingere nostros
Nomen ab *innocentia* ducit laudabile vitæ.*

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Lægurius, who turns the poetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

²² A Roman inscription of Statio Turicensis has been found at Zurich (*L. ville, Notices de l'ancienne Gaul*, pp. 642-644), but it is without sufficient warrant that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolized, the name of Tigurum and Fagus Tigurinus.

²³ Guilielmus (*de Rebus Helveticis*, l. iii. c. 5, p. 106) recapitulates the donations (A. D. 883) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbess Hildegardis. *Curtum nostram Turegum in ducatu Alamannie in pago Durgaugensi, villas, woods, meadows, waters, slaves, churches, &c.: a noble gift. Ch*

the precursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause: a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the color of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard:²⁵ and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and perhaps had been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock.²⁶ Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight religions or parishes of Rome.²⁷ The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the

the Bald gave the *ius monetæ*, the city was walled under Otho I., and the time of the bishop of Frisingen,

Nobile Turægum multarum copia rerum,

is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich

²⁵ Bernard, *Epistol. cæv. cævi. tom. i* pp. 187-190. Amidst his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, *qui, utinam quam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam distinctæ est vitæ*. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church.

²⁶ He advised the Romans,

*Concilis amicisq; sua moderamina summa
Arbitrio tui tate suo nil juris in hæc re
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic hæc stultus utraq;
Majestate, tam geminus se facient aulæ*

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Otho

²⁷ See Baronius (A. D. 1148, No. 36, 39) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1111, No. 3) as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pope Adrian the Fourth,²⁸ the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a card killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on guilty people: and from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comfort of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince: they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father: their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans; the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced of these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown: in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the counts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the præfect of the city pronounced his sentence, the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast in the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master.²⁹ The clergy triumphed in his death with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they have probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of

²⁸ The English reader may consult the *Biographia Britannica*, ADRIAN I. but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

²⁹ Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, *Script. Rerum. Ital.* t. ii. P. I. pp. 441, 442).

communication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more especially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons.⁸⁰ But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.⁸¹ They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honors,⁸² and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government; ⁸³ and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and

⁸⁰ Duceage (Gloss. Latinitatis Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, DEOARCHONES, tom. ii. p. 726) gives me a quotation from Blondus (Derecl. ii. l. i. ii.): Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetustum consulum exemplar summæ rerum præessent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italici, l. vi. Opp. tom. ii. p. 400) I read of the consuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

⁸¹ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408) a Roman is mentioned as *consulis natus* in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (Dissert. v.) discovers, in the years 852 and 856, Gratianus in Dei nomine consul et dux, Georgius consul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, styles himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator.

⁸² As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, &c., the title of *basileus* or consuls (See Chron. Sagra-nini, passim); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count and lord (*Signeur*, Duceage, Glossar). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

⁸³ The most constitutional form is a diploma of Otho III. (A. D. 998), *consulibus senatibus populoque Romano*; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I., A. D. 1014, the historian Diithmar (apud Muratori, Dissert. xxiii.) describes him, a *senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ, alii prolixâ, mystice incedebant cum baculis*. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406).

proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a of an armed people, will ever speak in loud and well-acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the operation of votes and ballots, could not easily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible to the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by bold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; what could be the motive or measure of such distinction? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were indissolubly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition and some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation of office of consuls; had they not disclaimed a title so proudly adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians and the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanction of a plebeian magistrate.⁴⁸

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and era to Rome, we may observe the

⁴⁸ In ancient Rome the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who ascribed the merit of the establishment (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxiii. 3. Beaufort, *Antiquités Romaines*, tom. i. pp. 144-155).

⁴⁹ The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:—

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;
Nominis plebeo discernere nomen equestre,
Jura tribunorum sanctum reparare senatum,
Et senio fessas mutasque reponere leges.
Lapsa ruinosis, et adhuc pendentia munus
Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitore.

But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences,⁶⁶ is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of a hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls, and the sanctuary of the empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.⁶⁷ The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticos, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper:⁶⁸ the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honorable and

⁶⁶ After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other summit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. v. c. 11-16).*

⁶⁷ Tacit. Hist. iii. 69, 70.

⁶⁸ This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emperor and senate must, however, be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries; (see the *Science des Médailles* of the P^{er} Joubert, tom. II. pp. 208-211, in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

* The authority of Nardini is now vigorously impugned, and the question of the Arx and the Temple of Jupiter revived, with new arguments, by Niebuhr and his accomplished follower, M. Bunsen. *Roms Beschreibung*, vol. III. p. 12, et seq.—M.

† Dr. Cardwell (Lecture on Ancient Coins, p. 70, et seq.) assigns convincing reasons in support of this opinion.—M.

lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the insets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with the inscription: "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE. ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse, Stephen delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on his shield.³⁹ III. With the empire, the præfect of the city declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword which he received from the successors of Otho the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions.⁴⁰ The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope, but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties.⁴¹ A servant whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans; in his place they elected a præfect; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the fervor of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the Third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Roman people and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he vested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to German emperors.⁴² In his place an ecclesiastic, a præ-

³⁹ In his xxviiith dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. pp. 569 Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which bore the obscure names of *Afforsati, Inferlati, Provolsini, Pappasini*. During this period, all the power was without exception Boniface VIII., abstained from the right of coining, and was resumed by his successor Benedict XII., and regularly exercised in the reign of Avignon.

⁴⁰ A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz. Miscell. tom. 64, apud Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 286) thus describes the constitution of Rome in the xth century: *Grandioris urbis et orbis negotia spectata Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum Imperatorem, si vult illius vice urbis præfectum, qui de sua dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet et dominum populi cui facti hominum, et dominum imperatorem a quo accipit suæ potestatis insignia, scilicet gladium exertum.*

⁴¹ The words of a contemporary writer (Pandolph. Pisan. in Vit. Pasche pp. 357, 358) describe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, incommodis patibus . . . loca præfectoria . . . Laudes præfectoria . . . comitis applausum . . . juraturum populo in ambonem subleuant . . . consilium in urbe præfectum petunt.

⁴² *Urbis præfectum ad ligatam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quo*

or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate,⁴³ the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators,⁴⁴ the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region, or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.⁴⁵

The union and vigor of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their

donavit de prefectura eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo prefecturam tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487).

⁴³ See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. 81, de Gest. Frederic. I., l. i. c. 27.

⁴⁴ Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the Capuani family, &c., quorum temporibus melius regelatur Roma quam nunc (A. D. 1191) est temporibus lvi. senatorum (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 181, SENATORES).

⁴⁵ Muratori (dissert. xlii. tom. iii. pp. 785-788) has published an original treaty: Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c., anno 44^{to} senatus. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: Reddimus ad præsens . . . habebimus . . . dubitis prebetria . . . jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c. A chartula de Tenementis Tusculani, dated in the 47th year of the same era, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatus, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senatores consiliarii and simple senatores (Muratori, dissert. xlii. tom. iii. pp. 787-789).

family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchism longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, astonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those blessings they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, so strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation and productive of the most salutary effects.⁴⁵ They chose some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, whom they delegated for a time the supreme administrator of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions: the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, he selected six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice attended the *Podesta*,⁴⁷ who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his children, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, he left behind: during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honorably depart till he had satisfied the complaints which might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancione,⁴⁸ whose fame and merit have been rescued from

⁴⁵ Muratori (dissert. xlv. tom. iv. pp. 84-92) has fully explained this system of government; and the *Oculus Pastoralis*, which he has given at the end of his treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.

⁴⁷ In the Latin writers, at least of the silver age, the title of *Potestas* transferred from the office to the magistrate:—

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere majus;
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse Potestas.

Juvenal. Satir. x. 9

⁴⁸ See the life and death of Brancione, in the *Historia Major* of M. Paris, pp. 711, 787, 792, 797, 799, 810, 823, 833, 848, 840. The multitude of popes and suitors connected Rome and St. Albans, and the resentment of the clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppressed.

ion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honor of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial, but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighborhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancalone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honor, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancalone was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.⁴⁹

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies

⁴⁹ Matthew Paris thus ends his account. *Caput vero ipsius Brancalonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columnam collocatum, in signum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias, superstitiose nimis et pompose sustulerunt.* Fuerat enim superbiorum potentum et malefactorum urbis miles et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, venit ita et iustus imitator et amator (p. 840). A biographer of Innocent IV (Muratori, *Script. tom. iii. P. i. pp. 591, 592*) draws a less favorable portrait of this Ghibeline senator.

and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, an office of senator from the Roman people.⁶⁰ As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his de character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamation the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a faithful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his reign was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the sanction of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to dedicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a per law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and force of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the independence of the city than to the independence of the church; abolishes the annual election of the senator; and formally qualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of a high and conspicuous rank.⁶¹ This prohibitory clause repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the event, and by the authority, of the people, two electors were appointed, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful of the city, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic,⁶² to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully labored to conciliate the favor of the emperor, and to recommend their merit and services in the cau

⁶⁰ The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome is mentioned by the historians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori by Nicholas de Jamsilla (pp. 592), the monk of Padua (p. 724), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9, p. 808), and Ricordano Malespini (c. 177, p. 988).

⁶¹ The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III., which founds his temporal authority on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been confirmed by Boniface VIII. in the *Sente of the Decretals*, it must be received by the papists, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

⁶² I am indebted to Fleury (*Hist. Eccles. tom. xviii. p. 306*) for an extract of the Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Otton Raynaldus, A. D. 1281, No. 14, 15.

Nassar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the Third and Frederic the First is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history.⁵³ After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets: some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honor and service, in the loyal hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give laws to Italy and the Teutonic kingdom; and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian,⁵⁴ who, by the vigor of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth."⁵⁵ But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the

⁵³ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Fabric. Bibhot. Lat. Med. et Infim. tom. v. pp. 186, 187), perhaps the noblest of historians: he was son of Leopold, marquis of Austria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV., and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the *Gesta Frederici I.*, the last of which is inserted in the fifth volume of Muratori's historians.

⁵⁴ We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatus et populi Romani suis tenuere manibus.

⁵⁵ Otho Frising. de *Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 28, pp. 682-684.

kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a pompous and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities, and approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under the auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce her monarchy to the insolence of the world. You are ignorant, that, in former ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valor and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sin, and the absence of our princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion; and with our prudence, our strength has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate, and the equestrian order: the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my emperor; and given you myself, and all that is mine. My first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe, that you will shed your blood for the republic; that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors; and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With this name, assume the character, of Augustus." The flow of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted: but Frederick, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the height of royalty and conquest. "Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans; but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that your fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all lunar things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the s

²⁰ *Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus; prin-*
cipem constitui.

of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valor of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people: ⁵⁷ they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word; they were not invited, they were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country; and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks ⁵⁸ and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths: if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity." ⁵⁹ Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican; his coronation was disturbed by a sally from the Capitol; and if the numbers and valor of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he besieged Rome, to seat an anti-pope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were intro-

⁵⁷ Non cessit nobis nudum imperium, virtute sua amictum venit, ornamenta sua secum traxit. Penes nos sunt consules tui, &c. Cicero or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hæcynian forest.

⁵⁸ Otho of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xuth century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francoium). he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

⁵⁹ Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. pp 720-723. These original and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

duced into the Tiber: but the senate and people were seduced by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease. did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attacks. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the cardinals, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany. they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Oriflamme*, of Milan.⁶⁰ After the extinction of the house of Swabia they were banished beyond the Alps: and their last operations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Emperors.⁶¹

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Cyprian hills, a fanciful historian⁶² amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could not triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his temporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primitive limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tiber was all claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of

⁶⁰ From the *Chronicles* of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (*c.* xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggerel that accompanied the gift:—

Ave decus orbis, ave! victus tibi destinor, ave!
 Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare iusto.
 Vire Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum
 Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
 Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum
 Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444) of anno 1127, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scoprì, nel doglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea fatto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla seguente iscrizione &c.; to the same purpose as the old inscription.

⁶¹ The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy is related with partial learning in the *Annals* of Muratori (tom. x. xi. xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the *Histoires des Allemands* (tom. iii. iv.) by Scipion, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

⁶² Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Prænestæ delicias, nuncupatis in totis votis petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. i. c. 11) may be repeated with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (*Œuvres de Desquieu*, tom. iii. pp. 634, 635, quarto edition).

Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Romans incessantly labored to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbors, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valor, they trampled on the misfortunes of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon: the fortifications, and even the buildings, of the rival cities, were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans.⁶³ Of these,⁶⁴ Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tiber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace; Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum; Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honors of a city,⁶⁵ and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighboring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles

⁶³ Ne a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labicenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruebantur (Matthew Paris, i. 757). These events are marked in the *Annals* and *Index* (the xviii. volume) of Muratori.

⁶⁴ For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tiber, &c., see the lively picture of the P. Labat (*Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*), who had long resided in the neighborhood of Rome, and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (*Roma*, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

⁶⁵ Labat (tom. iii. p. 238) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has severely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli; in civitate Tiburtina non vivitur civiliter.

of Tusculum⁶⁶ and Viterbo⁶⁷ might be compared relative state to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand Germans, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the Germans at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most accurate and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterwards, the emperor marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state, with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the banner of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Toulouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of his triumph, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred thousand; their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. The policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions were restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of the empire would have offered the fairest opportunity of a sequestered quest. But in arms, the modern Romans were no more; and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighboring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit long continuance: after some irregular sallies, they sunk in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation, in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian prince, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the violence, of a popular election: the sanctuaries were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the tenth century, the church was distracted by the mischiefs of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favor; not the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established that

⁶⁶ I depart from my usual method of quoting only by the date the Muratori, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 346).

⁶⁷ Matthew Paris, p. 346. This bishop of Winchester was Peter d. who occupied the see thirty-two years (A. D. 1206-1238), and is described by English historians, as a soldier and a statesman (pp. 178, 309).

vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was overruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious, from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to a hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience, and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,⁶⁸ who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.⁶⁹ The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation, all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college.

⁶⁸ See Mosheim, *Institut. Histot. Ecclesiast.* pp. 401, 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election, and the doubtful merits of innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

⁶⁹ The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedence, &c., of the Roman cardinals are very ably discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 282-3287); but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was raised to the definite number of seventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

But as the concurrence of two-thirds of the votes had made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and while prolonged their independent reign, the Christian was left destitute of a head. A vacancy of almost years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the 11th who resolved to prevent the future abuse; and his after some opposition, has been consecrated in the of the canon law.⁷⁰ Nine days are allowed for the quies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the cardinals; on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each one domestic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, out any separation of walls or curtains, a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries: but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the militias of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day, are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church; all agreements and promises among the electors are for ever annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of convenient or superfluous rigor have been gradually relaxed; but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire; and they are still urged, by the personal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance. The improvement of ballot or secret votes has wrapped up the struggles of the conclave⁷¹ in the silky veil of charity and politeness.⁷² By these institutions the Romans were

⁷⁰ See the bull of Gregory X. approbante sacro concilio, in the *Sexte Canon Law* (l. 1. tit. 6, c. 3), a supplement to the Decretals, which Benedict VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of the pope.

⁷¹ The genius of Cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 16 which he was a spectator and an actor (*Memoires*, tom. iv. pp. 15-57); but it is a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian history (*Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani*, in 4to. 1687) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes at least a though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues we are brought to the adoration of the successful candidate; but the next page opens a new funeral.

⁷² The expressions of Cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: *recut toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité que l'on se sert dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avoit dans le cabinet de Henri III., avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges; et même modeste, qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des frères parfaitement unis.*

cluded from the election of their prince and bishop ; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people were assembled⁷³ in the square before St. Peter's: the pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed: the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days' journey from the city ; and that if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed.⁷⁴ But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected ; the Romans despised their own workmanship ; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign,⁷⁵ and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church ; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France ; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village,

⁷³ *Richesti per bando* (says John Villani) *sanatori di Roma, e si del popolo, et capitani de' 25, e consoli (consoli?) et 13 buoni huomini, uno per rione*. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

⁷⁴ Villani (l. x. c. 68-71, in Muratori, *Script. tom. xlii. pp. 611-616*) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is fluctuating and inconsistent.

⁷⁵ In the first volume of the *Pope of Avignon*, see the second original Life of John XXII. pp. 112-114, the confession of the antipope, pp. 145-152, and the laborious notes of Baluze, pp. 714, 715.

but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious and that the Romans would march in arms to destroy them and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted the account of a heavy debt, of all the losses which desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the provisions, and the various expenses of servants and gers who attended the court.⁶⁶ After a short interval peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again brought by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperial respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasions, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was reported, as it might seem forever, from the Tiber to Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be traced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the king of France.⁶⁷ The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but there was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Avignon, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and gardens were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of France. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were secured from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chamber and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the sword of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic execution of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinate

⁶⁶ Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem, contra papam movere ceperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo titulum omnia que subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet hospitium locandi, in mercimoniis, in rebus, in redditibus, in provisione et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quod cum audisset papa, preceperat liter ingemuit, et se compertis *versipulatum*, &c., Matt. Paris p. 707. the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence at Avignon, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus, Fleury.

⁶⁷ Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which has been edited and published in the appendix (*Histoire particulière du différend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puits, tome xi. pp. 61-82).

which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honors of a saint; a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.⁷⁸

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bordeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth.⁷⁹ The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,⁸⁰ which flourished above seventy years⁸¹ the seat of

⁷⁸ It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. pp. 53-57) be in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the cornfields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blasted by nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

⁷⁹ See, in the *Chronicles of Giovanni Villani* (l. viii. c. 63, 64, 80, in Muratori, tom. xlii.), the imprisonment of Boniface VIII., and the election of Clement V., the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

⁸⁰ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI., and Clement VII., are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vite Paparum Avenionensium*; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to.), with copious and elaborate notes, and a second volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

⁸¹ The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon and the

the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom land, by sea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. France was already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Vaucluse county,⁸² a populous and fertile spot; and the eighty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the poverty and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins.⁸³ Under the shadow of the French monarchy amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honour and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers, but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in sorrow and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals,⁸⁴ who beheld Rome and Italy with alienation and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius.

Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the age of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's age. The abbé de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and his country. Yet he modestly pleads, that many of the local inconveniences of France are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaimed had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. 24-28).

⁸² The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip III. of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Toulouse. Ten years before, the heresy of Count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure and they derived some obscure claim from the thirteenth century to some lands Rhodanum (Valesii Notitia Galliarum, pp. 495, 610. Longueur, Description de la France, tom. i. pp. 376-381).

⁸³ If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such object might annul the bargain; but the purchase money must be refunded, for in it was paid. *Civitatem Avenionensem emit . . . per ejusmodi venditionem p. nra redemptas, &c.* (Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori Script. tom. III. P. II. p. 505). The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

⁸⁴ Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vita Iva, p. 63, et Baluz. p. 626, &c.). In 1331, the pope refused two cardinals recommended by the king of France, quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus 12 de regno Francie originem traxisse noscuntur in memorato collegio existeret (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1281).

the position of Rome was less favorable, the territory less fruitful: the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must forever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR,⁶⁶ was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprized of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by

⁶⁶ Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Caletan (*Maxima Bibliot. Patrum*, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave. the uncle is a much clearer character.

a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, the Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.⁸⁶ It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty, and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, a casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth⁸⁷ to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee.⁸⁸ His summons were obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of the bishop.⁸⁹ To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgence the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition have much diminished the value of the jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36) in the xliith, and the *Chronicon Astense*, in the xliith volume (pp. 191, 192) of Muratori's Collection. *Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum rastris, &c.*

⁸⁷ The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2).

⁸⁸ The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (*Car. Sigon. de Republica Hebræorum*, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15, pp. 151, 152), the suspension of all sea and labor, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c., may seem a novel idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *prophane* republic; and should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

⁸⁹ See the *Chronicle* of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56) in the xliith vol. of Muratori and the *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 75-89.

⁹⁰ The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, his *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques, sur les Jubiles et les Indulgences*;

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honors, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was subject to the laws.⁶¹ But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state: the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country:⁶² and a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly styled themselves the princes, of Rome.⁶³ After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valor. These examples might be readily presumed; but the elevation of a Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles.⁶⁴ In the time of

Haye, 1751, 3 vols in 12mo.; an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

⁶¹ Muratori (*Dissert.* xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c., the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho of Frisingen (*de Gest. Fried.* l. i. c. 13), and the submission of the marquis of Este.

⁶² As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual by what national law he chose to be governed (*Muratori, Dissertat.* xlix).

⁶³ Petrarck attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epistle, full of bold truths and absurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxim, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the state of the xvth century (*Mémoires*, tom. iii pp 177-180).

⁶⁴ The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iv. p. 475, A. D. 1124, No. 3, 4), who draws his information from the *Chronographus Mantuanensis*, and Arnulphus Sagensis de Schismate (in *Muratori, Script. Ital.* tom. iii P. 1 pp 123-132). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.

Leo the Ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity, and honored at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the son of Leo were signalized in the cause of Gregory the Seventh, who intrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noble families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance, that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause; he reigned several years in the Vatican; and it is only the eloquence of Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendor to the present time.⁹⁵ The consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in a generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications; the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Casacchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honor, without the estate, of the count of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* must have been very ignorant or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Muratori has given two dissertations (xii. and xlii.) to the names, surnames and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticism, yet surely some ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

⁹⁶ The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. 641, &c.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1295).

Interem titulis redimunt sanguine et armis
Illustrasque viri Romanæ stirpis trahentes
Nomen in emeritis tantæ virtutis honores
Intulerant sese melioræ festinque colebant
Aurati fulgentes togæ, sociantæ catervâ.
Ex ipsâ devota domus præstantis ab Urbe

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna⁹⁷ have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cayæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple.⁹⁸ They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighboring city of Tusculum, a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine;⁹⁹ and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit and always by fortune.¹⁰⁰ About

*Ecclesiam, vultumque gerens demissus alium
Festa (Colonna) jois, nec non Sabellica nutus;
Stephanides semor, Comites, Annibalica proles,
Præfectusque ubiis magnum sine vilius nomen.*
(l. ii. c. 5, 100, pp. 647, 648.)

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59, pp. 174, 175) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbor or protect any malefactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble security.

⁹⁷ It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favored the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii. pp. 647, 648).

⁹⁸ Pandolph. Plan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. 1. p. 336. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospighosi this original fief of Colonna (Eschmard, pp. 258, 259).

⁹⁹

To longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rhoni,

says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lentant, Hist. du Connétable de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Orho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes, that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533) that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city and founded Mentz in Germany.

¹⁰⁰ I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's galleys at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. 7, tom. iii. pp. 55, 56. Muret, Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. pp. 180-190,

the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honors of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar; while John and Stephen were declared marquises of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas Fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar.¹⁰¹ After his decease, their haughty behavior provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the Eighth; and the Colonna were pressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms. He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side the Tiber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum; they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and course of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honors and possessions to the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of a hundred thousand gold florins which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. And the spiritual censures and disqualifications were abolished by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The

¹⁰¹ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. pp. 218, 220.

¹⁰² Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna has authorized the abbe de Sadleir to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with Urban, &c. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. pp. 98-110, 146-148, 174-176, 222-276-280). His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the error of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

¹⁰³ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederick I. incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 10) and the last status of annual excommunication were purified by Sixtus (Vita di Sixto V. tom. iii. p. 416). Treason, sacrilege, and proscription are of the best titles of ancient nobility.

boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalized in the captivity of Boniface, and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as a hero superior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war, in his distress he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country; and when he was asked, "Where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "Here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Ursini migrated from Spoleto;¹⁰⁴ the sons of Ursus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person, who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honors of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestin the Third and Nicholas the Third, of their name and lineage.¹⁰⁵ Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favor by the liberal Celestin;¹⁰⁶ and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tus-

—Vallis te proxima misit,
Appenninigenæ qua præta virentia sylvas
Spoleitana metunt alimenta gregesque protevri.

Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533) gives the Ursini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

¹⁰⁴ In the metrical life of Celestine V. by the Cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant, passage (l. i. c. 3, p. 203, &c.):—

—genuit quem nobilis Ursæ (Ursi?)
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magna
Fascibus in clero, pompasque experta senatûs.

Bellorumque manû grandi stipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon fustigia dūdum
Papatus iterata tenens.

Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii.) observes that the first Ursini pontificate of Celestine III. was unknown; he is inclined to read *Ursi* progenies.

¹⁰⁶ Filii Ursi, quondam Celestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati Vit. Innocent III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Ursini would disdain the nephews of a modern pope.

cany, and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of preëminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel, but as a precious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously rage when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten.¹⁰⁷ After the retreat of the popes to Avignon the discord was perpetuated by the wretched compromise electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the more renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna.¹⁰⁸ His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church lost of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that this generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justicewould extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and *beast* who labored to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ In his fifty-first Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

¹⁰⁸ Petrarch (tom. i. pp. 223-230) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 22) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, pp. 533, 534), are less favorable to the arms.

¹⁰⁹ The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, pp. 61-66) has applied the sixth Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirito Gentil*, &c. to Stephen Colonna, the younger :—

*Orai, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi
Ad una gran marmorea colonna
Fanno noja sovente e a se danno.*

CHAPTER LXX.

CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF PETRARCH.—RESTORATION OF THE FREEDOM AND GOVERNMENT OF ROME BY THE TRIBUNE RIENZI.—HIS VIRTUES AND VICES, HIS EXPULSION AND DEATH.—RETURN OF THE POPES FROM AVIGNON.—GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.—REUNION OF THE LATIN CHURCH.—LAST STRUGGLES OF ROMAN LIBERTY.—STATUTES OF ROME.—FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

In the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch¹ is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned;² for a matron so prolific,³ that

¹ The *Mémoires sur la Vie de François Petrarque* (Amsterdam, 764. 1767, 3 vols in 4to), form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labor of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

² The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wise commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed virgin, or ———. See the prefaces to the first and second volume.

³ Laura de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January, 1325, to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love since he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April, 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

she was delivered of eleven legitimate children,⁴ while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy; and his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and the ponderous volume of his writings⁵ became now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honors of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry;⁷ and the title of poet-laureate, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court,⁸ was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor:⁹ the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard;¹⁰

⁴ *Corpus crebris partibus exhaustum* from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work urged him to inquire into every circumstance that could affect the history of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. pp. 122-133, notes, pp. tom. ii. pp. 455-486, not. pp. 70-82).

⁵ Vaucluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the fountains of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (*Mémoires*, &c. pp. 340-350). It was, in truth, the retreat of a hermit; and the moderns much mistaken, if they place Laura and a happy lover in the grotto.

⁶ Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil in the xvth century, but without date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller, or the amusement of the public.

⁷ Consult Selden's *Titles of Honor*, in his works (vol. iii. pp. 457-461) hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet, *quem imperator fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus*.

⁸ From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been false and venal. I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to fit twice a year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the choir, and, I believe, in the presence, of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom is while the prince is a minor, and the poet a man of genius.

⁹ Isocrates (in *Panegyrico*, tom. i. pp. 116, 117, edit. Batle, Cantab. 1729) for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the *—και τα άλλα μέγιστα—μη μόνον τέχνης και ρώτης, αλλά και λόγων και γυμνασίου* example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic game ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of (Sueton. in *Nerone*, c. 23; Philostrat. *apud* Casaubon *ad Iornum*; Dion Cassius or Xiphilin, l. xliii. pp. 1032, 1041. Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 460).

¹⁰ The Capitoline games (*certamen quinquennale, musicum, equestre*, &c.) were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4) in the year of Christ 86 (Ce de Die Natali, c. 13, p. 100, edit. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the 1st century (Annonius de *Professoribus Burdegali*, V.) If the crown were of superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (*Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyre*,

the laurel¹¹ was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable,¹² he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own *labors*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity; but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection; and after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation¹³ was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of a herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the

lli v. 31) may do honor to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

¹¹ Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xv. 39. *Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. i. pp. 150-220. The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54).

¹² The pious grandson of Laura has labored, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the grave and the sneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes pp. 76-82).

¹³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. pp. 423-435, tom. ii. pp. 1-6, notes, pp. 1-13), from his own writings, and the Roman diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma¹⁴ which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureate are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honor, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed the lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son; he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of the heroes and matrons: and in the remembrance of the past, in the hopes of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world: the pope and the emperor, the bishop and general had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtues the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence,¹⁵ Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were astonished by a revolution which realized for a moment his most splendid vision. The rise and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages:¹⁶ the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot bard¹⁷ will sometime

¹⁴ The original act is printed among the *Places Justificatives* in the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 50-53.

¹⁵ To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome, I need only request that reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom. i. pp. 323-335). But the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

¹⁶ It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. de Cerceau, whose posthumous work (*Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome 1347*) was published at Paris, 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liège, a contemporary historian (*Fabrilcius, Biblioth. Lat. Med. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 273, tom. iv. p. 86).

¹⁷ The abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the sixteenth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the hearer Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Mémoires*, tom. ii. pp. 50, 51, 320-417, notes,

vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine,¹⁷ and more especially of the Roman,¹⁸ historian.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome.²⁰† From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language: and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?"²¹ When the republic addressed to

70-76, tom. iii. pp. 221-245, 366-375). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petarch has probably escaped him.

¹⁸ Giovanni Villani, l. xli. c. 89, 104, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xiii. pp. 960, 970, 981-983.

¹⁹ In his third volume of *Italian Antiquities* (pp. 249-544), Muratori has inserted the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327, usque ad Annum 1354*, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the thirteenth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi: which had been printed at Bracciano, 1627, ff. 4to., under the name of Tommaso Fortitocco, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality: but whosoever is the author of these *Fragmenta*, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.*

²⁰ The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviii. chapter of the *Fragmenta* (pp. 399-479), which, in the new division, forms the iiii. book of the history in xxxviii. smaller chapters or sections.

²¹ The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: *Fo da ssa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramafico, megliore lettorico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce lettoie! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massimo, moito li diletta le magnificentie di Julio Cesaro raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negl' intagli di marino lequali iaceo intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso che sapesse leggere li antichi patafili. Tutto scritture antiche vulgarizzava, quesse fiore di marino*

* Since the publication of my first edition of Gibbon, some new and very remarkable documents have been brought to light in a life of Nicolas Rienzi, Cola di Rienzo und seine Zeit,—by Dr. Felix Papencordt. The most important of these documents are letters from Rienzi to Charles the Fourth, emperor and king of Bohemia, and to the archbishop of Prague; they enter into the whole history of his adventurous career during its first period, and throw a strong light upon his extraordinary character. These documents were first discovered and made use of, to a certain extent, by Pelzel, the historian of Bohemia. The originals have disappeared, but a copy made by Pelzel for his own use is now in the library of Count Thun at Teschen. There seems no doubt of their authenticity. Dr. Papencordt has printed the whole in his *Urkunden*, with the exception of one long theological paper.—M. 1815.

† But see in Dr. Papencordt's work, and in Rienzi's own words, his claim to be a bastard son of the emperor Henry the Seventh, whose intrigue with his mother Rienzi relates with a sort of proud shamelessness. Compare account by the editor of Dr. Papencordt's work in *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxi. —M. 1845.

the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honor of haranguing Pope Clement the Sixth, at the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind: but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace at poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital.* From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favor; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honorable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and action, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonor of the wives and daughters:²¹ they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions from the dogs and serpents of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces was the theme of his public and private discourse; and the monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted

justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove suono quelli di Romani? dove ene loro somma justitia? poleiamme trovare in tempo questi furfanti!"

²¹ Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy temper of husbands of Avignon (*Memoires*, tom. 1. p. 330).

* Sir J. Hobhouse published (in his *Illustrations of Childe Harold*) Rienzi's joyful letter to the people of Rome, on the apparently favorable termination of his mission.—M. 1845.

† All this Rienzi, writing at a later period to the archbishop of Pisa attributed to the criminal abandonment of his flock by the supreme pontiff. See Urkunde apud Papencordt, p. xlv. *Quarterly Review*, p. 365.—M. 1843.

the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran.²³ A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary,²⁴ and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus²⁵ was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favorite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of a hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the

²³ The fragments of the *Lex regia* may be found in the Inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242, and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernesti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²⁴ I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienz. The *Lex regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomerium*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium*, an orchard, translates le Jardino de Roma cloene Italia, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 408) and the French historian (p. 33). Even the learning of Muratori has slumbered over the passage.

²⁵ Priori (*Brutus*) tamen similior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberaretur ille P. R. aperiretur temporis suo..... ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536).²

* *Fateor attamen quod—nunc fatuum, nunc hystrionem, nunc gravem, nunc simplicem, nunc astutum, nuncavidum, nunc timidum simulatorem, et dissimulatorem ad hunc caritativum finem, quem dixi, constitui sepius memet ipsum.* Writing to an archbishop (of Prague), Rienz alleges scriptural examples. Saluator coram archa David et Ineanus apparuit coram Rege; blanda, astuta, et tacta Judith astutit Holoferni; et astute Jacob meruit benedicti, Urkunde, xlix.—M. 1845.

apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; ar that the pope himself would approve their victory over th common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day, all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the reestablishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armor, issued from the church, encompassed by three hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and the great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of the design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other; St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. The triumph was disturbed by some secret emotions which labored to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic harangued the people from the balcony; and received most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumor, returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi, that at leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Lauren from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to the

estates; they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune;* the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers of the state; that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms, or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways, and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbor of the coast a vessel was stationed for the assurance of

* Et ego, Deo semper auctore, ipsa die pristina (leg. prima) Tribunatus, quam quidem dignitas a tempore desolati Imperii, et per annos Vo et ultra sub tyrannica occupatione vacavit, in nos omnes potentes indifferenter Deum et justitiam odientes, a meâ, ymo a Dei facie fugiendo vehementi Smritu dissipavi, et nullo effuso ciuore timentes expuli, sine illa remanente Romane terre facie renovatâ. Labellus Tribuni ad Cæsarem, p. xxxiv.—M. 1846.

commerce; a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of the commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins;²⁸ and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the republic. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, as their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; a Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to leave the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps in mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard

²⁸ In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4, p. 400) *perfumante quattro soldi*, in another *quattro fiorini*, an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman scudi (Münster, *disser.* xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear, that the former is inconsistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

the purity of the faith he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by a heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.²⁷

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent. patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished, and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses; and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigor was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber.²⁸ His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from

²⁷ Hoeusemus, p. 498, apud du Cerceau, Hist. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman historian (whom for brevity I shall name) Fortinocea, l. ii. c. 4.

²⁸ Fortinocea l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck, we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Avignon. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the Isle of Cepharia, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marseilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber where they took shelter in a storm; but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal: the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins, a rich prize.

his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory. the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stripped of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian), the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith, were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labors and rewards of industry spontaneously revive. Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world: and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea, of uniting Italy in a great federative republic of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains, enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason; could private interest have yielded to the public welfare; the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious season had elapsed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered the lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly

and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign.²⁰ The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis, king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother and her husband had been perfidiously strangled by Jane, queen of Naples: ²¹ her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome, but after hearing the advocates,²² the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause.* Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude

²⁰ It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were astonished at the ease and majesty of the protector on his throne (see Harris's Life of Cromwell, pp. 27-34, from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.) The consciousness of merit and power will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.

²¹ See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Gianpino (tom. iii. l. xlii. pp. 220-230), and the life of Petrarch (Mémoires, tom. ii. pp. 143-148, 215-250, 375-379, notes, pp. 21-37). The Abbé de Sade wishes to extenuate her guilt.

²² The advocate who pleaded against Jane could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his master's epistle. *Johanna inordinata vita procedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter susceptus et excusatio subsequens, necesse viri tui te probant fuisse participem et consortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a singular conformity.*

* In his letter to the archbishop of Prague, Rienzi thus describes the effect of his elevation on Italy and on the world: "Did I not restore real peace among the cities which were distracted by factions? did I not cause all the citizens, exiled by party violence, with their wretched wives and children, to be readmitted? had I not begun to extinguish the factious names (*schismaticæ nomina*) of Guelph and Ghibelline, for which countless thousands had perished body and soul, under the eyes of their pastors, by the reduction of the city of Rome and all Italy into one amiable, peaceful, holy, and united confederacy? the consecrated standards and banners having been by me collected and blended together, and, in witness to our holy association and perfect union, offered up in the presence of the ambassadors of all the cities of Italy, on the day of the assumption of our Blessed Lady." p. xlvii.

In the Libellus and Cæsarem: "I received the homage and submission of all the sovereigns of Apulia, the barons and counts, and almost all the people of Italy. I was honored by solemn embassies and letters by the emperor of Constantinople and the king of England. The queen of Naples submitted herself and her kingdom to the protection of the tribune. The king of Hungary, by two solemn embassies, brought his cause against his queen and his nobles before my tribunal, and I venture to say further, that the fame of the tribune alarmed the sultan of Babylon. When the Christian pilgrims to the sepulchre of our Lord related to the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem all the yet unheard-of and wonderful circumstances of the reformation in Rome, both Jews and Christians celebrated the event with unusual festivities. When the sultan inquired the cause of these rejoicings, and received this intelligence about Rome, he ordered all the havens and cities on the coast to be fortified, and put in a state of defence." p. xxxv.—M. 1815.

for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureate of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising greatness of the republic.⁸²

While Petrarch indulged those prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with astonishment on the ascending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course, and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason; he magnified in a tenfold proportion the object of hope and fear, and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tintured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity.* He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian;⁸³ and that as often as they visited the city on foot, a single viator, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, "NICHOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY;⁸⁴ FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political

⁸² See the *Epistola Hortatoria de Capessenda Republica*, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. pp. 535-540), and the *vth* eclogue or pastoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

⁸³ In his *Roman Questions*, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. pp. 505, 506, edit. Giese. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest *μοιοῦνθαι σχήματι, καὶ σπουῇ καὶ διαίτη τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Χανουσί τῶν πολιτῶν*. . . . *καταπαρεῖσθαι δεῖ* (a saying of Q. Curio) *καὶ μὴ σέμνον εἶναι τῇ ὅψει μὴδὲ δυνατάσδεον*. . . . *ὅσω δὲ μάλλον ἐκταπεινωταὶ τῷ σώματι, τοσούτω μάλλον αὐξεται τῇ δυνάμει*, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favorite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

⁸⁴ I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous, title of *Zelator Italie*, which Rienzi assumed.

* "An illustrious female writer has drawn, with a single stroke, the character of Rienzi, Crescentius, and Arnold of Brescia, the fond restorers of Roman liberty: 'Qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances.' Corinne. tom. i. p. 156. Could Tacitus have excelled this? Hallam, vol. i. p. 418.—M.

naxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of a handsome person,³⁵ till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance: and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a parti-colored robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march, and their lymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honors of chivalry³⁶ betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office, and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games, the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud or secretly deride the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the

³⁵ *Era bell' homo* (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399). It is remarkable, that the rise sarcastical of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS., from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi *travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano*, or Asolino (l. iii. c. 18, p. 523).

³⁶ *Stuango as it may seem*, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Ursini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Arceoli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight *humili humilii*. They afterwards received from Robert, King of Naples, the sword of chivalry (Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 2, p. 259).

profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester.⁸⁷ With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship, he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement; and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of cardinals."⁸⁸ We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors. we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire."⁸⁹ Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly, but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticos, and courts of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi,⁴⁰

⁸⁷ All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, *Epist. Famil.* vi. 2), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the count of Avignon that a vase which had been used by a Pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, *apud du Cerceau*, pp. 180, 180).

⁸⁸ This verbal summons of Pope Clement VI., which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS., is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (*tom. ii. not. pp. 70-76*), with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

⁸⁹ The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly is extant in Hocsemius (*Cerceau*, pp. 163-168).

⁴⁰ It is singular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this seven-fold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (*Cerceau*, pp. 167-170, 229).

crowns of different leaves or metals were successively put on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes.* These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendor of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (her name in name and profession), exposed the contrast of his manners and princely expense; and without acquiring majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king. A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast eyes in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, and they trembled?" "As long as the yoke of justice was that of justice and their country, their conscience led them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest produced them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified his hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of exerting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common race; they associated their wishes, and perhaps their desires; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the king; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and

God, how they trembled?" "As long as the yoke of justice was that of justice and their country, their conscience led them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest produced them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified his hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of exerting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common race; they associated their wishes, and perhaps their desires; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the king; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and

Puoi so faceva staro denanto a so, montro sedeva, li, baroni tutti in piedi a lo vracia peccate, e co li capucci tratti. Deli como stavano paurosi! Rom. l. li. c. 20, p. 488.) Ho saw them, and we see them.

It was on this occasion that he made the profane comparison between himself and our Lord, and the striking circumstance took place which he relates in letter to the archbishop of Prague. In the midst of all the wild and joyous acclamation of the people, one of his most zealous supporters, a monk, who was in repute for his sanctity, stood apart in a corner of the church and wept bitterly. A domestic chaplain of Rienzi's inquired the cause of his grief. "Now," said the man of God, "is thy master cast down from heaven—never saw I man proud. By the aid of the Holy Ghost he has driven the tyrants from the city out drawing a sword; the cities and the sovereigns of Italy have submitted to power. Why is he so arrogant and ungrateful towards the Most High? does he seek earthly and transitory rewards for his labors, and in his wantonness liken himself to the Creator? Tell thy master he can only atone for offence by tears of penitence." In the evening the chaplain communicated solemn rebuke to the tribune, it appalled him for the time, but was soon forgotten in the tumult and hurry of business.—M. 1845.

three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathize in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed, and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment, Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendor of their names, their surviving kindred, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world, and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "let the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their head and while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution: they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession, and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation were dismissed in safety to their respective homes with the new honors and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.⁴²

⁴² The original letter in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colo-

during some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the lords attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the state; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of calamities which his government had taught them to expect. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to less advantage in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the lords and barons till their numbers were strong, and their castles invulnerable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of thirty thousand Romans returned without honor or effect from the attack of Marino; and his vengeance was amused in punishing his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity discouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by secret or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception, the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, and silently open; and after some hesitation they sounded retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headlong valor of the nobles in the rear. and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch attributed the restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Roger, who might regret the ease and honors of the church, a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the seven crowns, which Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, and the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had

semius, opud du Cerceau, pp. 222-229), displays, in genuine colors, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

been used by the tribune to animate his troops;⁴³ he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of a hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol: deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted, with some truth, that he had cut off an ear, which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate.⁴⁴ His base and implacable revenge denied the honors of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family.⁴⁵ The people sympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot that he conferred on his son the honor of knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.⁴⁶

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public counsel⁴⁷ to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted

⁴³ Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. 12, c. 104) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, as painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortiflocca, or the anonymous citizen (l. i. c. 34-37).

⁴⁴ In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the F. du Cerceau with his son. The family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (as Petrarch) *familie tue statum, Columnensium domos: solito pauciores habes columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile, solidumque permanet.*

⁴⁵ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed marry with their kinmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (*M. moires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 110, tom. ii. p. 401).

⁴⁶ Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (*Fam.* l. vii. ep. 13, pp. 682, 683) The friend was lost in the patriot. *Nulla toto orbe principi familia carior; carior tamen respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*

Je rends grâces aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain.

⁴⁷ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollastore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rer. Ital. Rum.* tom. xxv. c. 31, pp. 798-804).

ist his measures ; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption ; and urged him to prove, by their foreclusion, that if the populace adhered to his cause, it already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by specious professions ; they were justly offended by the leniency of his conduct ; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, culminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune was degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy.⁴⁸ The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance ; their rest and revenge engaged them in the service of the monarch ; but as the fate of the Colonna was before them, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino,⁴⁹ the king of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment ; and the monarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty followers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome ; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna ; and found enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled ; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people were silent and inactive ; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring his ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Without drawing his sword, Count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church ; three senators were chosen, and a legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The offices of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed ; but such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left alone a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after laboring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the

⁴⁸ The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi are translated by the P. Ceresa (pp. 196, 232), from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, D. 1317, No. 15, 17, 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

⁴⁹ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man di natura inconstante e senza fede, whose grandfather, a petty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera VII. c. 102, 103). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. II. pp. 1-151.

Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was scarcely observed, that the new senators derived their authority from the Apostolic See; that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with dictatorial power, the state of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other, and despised the commons: their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished: and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic; the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.⁶⁰

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermit of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and

⁶⁰ The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47, l. iii. c. 83, 87, 78) and Thomas Fortescue (l. iii. 1-4). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

nished an assembly of ambassadors and princes, by the vidence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.⁶¹ What had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but supported a character of independence and dignity, and yielded, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the same pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the savior of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to prison: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange dissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet.⁶² Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible, sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes. The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful rebel would alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metrop-

⁶¹ These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (Herl. tom. xxv. c. 36, p. 819). Had the tribune taught, that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason, without offending the Roman people.

⁶² The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 242) quotes the sixth epistle of the eighth book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 220).

* So far from having magnified these visions, Pollistore is more than corrected by the documents published by Papencordt. The adoption of all the wild stories of the Fratricelli, the Spirituals, in which, for the time at least, Rienzi appears to have been in earnest; his magnificent offers to the emperor, and the whole history of his life, from his first escape from Rome to his imprisonment at Avignon, are among the most curious chapters of his eventful life.—M. 1845.

olis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, Cardinal Alborno^z,⁵³ a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Alborno^z, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamor and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.⁵⁴ A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the

⁵³ Egidius, or Gilles Alborno^z, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose, that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

⁵⁴ From Matteo Villani and Fortino^{cca}, the P. du Cerceau (pp. 344-394) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of a hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks,—60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

death, as in the life, of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and labored to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead: their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favor; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke: the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds: and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.⁶⁶

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureate; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the

⁶⁶ The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-15). Petrarch, who loved the tribune, was indifferent to the fate of the senator.

hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favor of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.⁶⁶

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervor of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language.⁶⁷ The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education, and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France, both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne; and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron,

⁶⁶ The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. ii. pp. 375-413); but the deep, though secret, wound was the coronation of Zanubi, the poet-laureate, by Charles IV.

⁶⁷ See, in his accurate and amusing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (*Mémoires*, tom. i. pp. 261-285), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. pp. 45-47), and to Urban V in 1366 (tom. iii. pp. 677-691), his praise (pp. 711-715) and excuse (p. 771) of the last of these pontiffs. His angry controversy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found, *Opp.* pp. 1068-1085.

as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse.⁸⁸ But the cloud which hung over the seven hills would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompense of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the Fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honor; his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West, devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth; the migration of Gregory the Eleventh was encouraged by St. Catharine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these

88

*Squalida sed quoniam facies, neglectaque culta
Cæsaries; multisque malis lassata senectus
Eripuit solitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor.*

(Carm. l. 2, p. 77).

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The *Epistles* to Urban V. in prose are more simple and persuasive (*Sanctium*, l. vii. pp. 811-827, l. ix. *epistolæ* pp. 844-864).

visionary females.⁶⁰ Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, a hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import.⁶¹ While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber.⁶² But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of Mount Cassin had been consulted, whether he would accept the triple crown⁶³ from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen of Rome,"⁶⁴ replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is, the voice of my country."⁶⁵

If superstition will interpret an untimely death,⁶⁶ if the

⁶⁰ I have not leisure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catharine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last solemn words of the dying pope, who admonished the assistants, ut caverent ab hominibus, sive viris, sive mulieribus, sub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, &c. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit.) Pap. Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 1224).

⁶¹ This predatory expedition is related by Froissard (*Chronique* tom. i. p. 230), and in the life of Du Guesclin (*Collection Générale des Mémoires Historiques*, tom. iv. c. 16, pp. 107-113). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 563-569).

⁶² Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was signed the 21st of December, 1378, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. xx. p. 278).

⁶³ The first crown or regnum (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. v. p. 702) on the episcopal mitre of the popes, is ascribed to the gift of Constantine, or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII., as the emblem, not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. pp. 268, 269).

⁶⁴ Baluze (*Not. ad Pap. Avinion.* tom. i. pp. 1194, 1196) produces the original evidence which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of Mount Cassin, qui, utro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

⁶⁵ The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI., in Baluze (*Vit. Paparum Avenionensium*, tom. i. pp. 363-486) and Muratori (*Script. Rer. Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. i. pp. 612-712). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinized; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281. &c.).

⁶⁶ Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith,

merit of counsels be judged from the event, the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free, and regular, election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost; he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rites; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narratives,⁶⁶ the shades of popular vio-

Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, *ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκειν νέος* (Brunek, *Postea Gnomici*, p. 281). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 81) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

⁶⁶ In the first book of the *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

lence are more darkly or faintly colored: but the licentiousness of the seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm: "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same throat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world; the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to a helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.⁶⁷ The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France.⁶⁸ The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,⁶⁹ the Low countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

⁶⁷ The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., who are boldly stigmatized as antipopes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in *Præfat.*). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles should be common to both parties.

⁶⁸ Baluze strenuously labors (*Not.* pp. 1271-1280) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France: he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c.?

⁶⁹ An epistle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. *Vit. Pap. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 553), displays the zeal of the English nation against the "Lamontines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond sea (Hume's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 57, 58).

From the Banks of the Tiber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed: and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.⁶ They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger: and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism an aspiring neighbor, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown: but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn; and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.⁷¹

⁶ Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentili, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

⁷¹ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 282) that he styled himself *Rex Romæ*, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of *Rex Romæ*, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism: but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.⁷² Prudently waiving all invidious inquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as a healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should *subtract*⁷³ their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of a hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Bonediot the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honor of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper

⁷² The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism is stated by Peter du Puits in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. pp. 110-184).

⁷³ Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. x. p. 1-78) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.

seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to coöperate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview; but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."⁷⁴

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues, and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the Twenty-third was the first victim: he fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only

⁷⁴ Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honorable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Biblot. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 280). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epistle (Concile de Pise, tom. i. pp. 192-195).

accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honor from the throne; and his ambassador convened the session, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honorable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom,—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English*.⁷⁵ the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons; the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family;

⁷⁵ I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and coördinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British Islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 800 miles, or 40 days' journey; and England alone contains 32 counties and 82,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legate powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholomew de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I., and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipzig MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lefant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447, 453, &c.).

and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.⁷⁶

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the Fifth,⁷⁷ and his image and superscription introduced the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the Fourth was the *last* pope expelled by the tumult of the Roman people,⁷⁸ and Nicholas the Fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor.⁷⁹ I. The conflict of Eugenius with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tiber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dexterously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a sub-

⁷⁶ The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candor, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lantant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the Collection.

⁷⁷ See the xxvith Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Instruction of the Science des Médailles of the Père Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors has been composed by two monks, Moulinet, a Frenchman, and Bonanni, an Italian: but I understand, that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

⁷⁸ Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. III. F. 1. p. 869, and tom. xxv. p. 256), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

⁷⁹ The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lantant (Concile de Basle, tom. II. pp. 276-288) from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

missive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the Third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the best security of oaths⁸⁰ and treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the superfluous honor was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace.⁸¹ According to the laws of Rome,⁸² her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade

⁸⁰ The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not force, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imblaze the maxims of Boniface VIII.

⁸¹ Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di broccato con quella beretta, con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen. (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1133.)

⁸² See, in the statutes of Rome, the senator and three judges (l. i. c. 13-14), the conservators (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17, l. iii. c. 4), the caporioni (l. i. c. 18, l. iii. c. 8), the secret council (l. iii. c. 2), the common council (l. iii. c. 3). The title of *frons defences, acts of violence*, &c., is spread through many a chapter (c. 14-40) of the second book.

or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk : he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre ; the sound of trumpets announced his approach ; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden color or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers ; the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals : their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws ; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice : the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory, were intrusted to the three *conservators*, who were changed four times in each year : the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *caporioni* ; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty, counsellors ; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote ; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions : except the magistrates, none could propose a question ; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal ; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed ; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot ; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodized in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with

the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth: ⁸³ this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.⁸⁴ The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as a spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcario was noble, his reputation spotless: his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcario revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcario was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honorable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor

⁸³ *Statuta alma Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorij XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Romæ, 1580, in folio.* The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

⁸⁴ In my time (1766) and in M. Grosley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 261), the senator of Rome was M. Blotke, a noble Swede, and a proselyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the statutes.

was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy were gradually formed: his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold; his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise, the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants, the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the license of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals, before the doors, or at the altar of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country.⁵⁵ But their applause was mute, their pity inef-

⁵⁵ Besides the curious, though concise, narrative of Machiavel (*Istoria Fiorentina*, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. pp. 210, 211, edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to.), the Porsarian conspiracy is related in the *Diary of Stephen Infessura* (*Rer. Ital.* tom. iii. P. II. pp. 1134, 1135, and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (*Rer. Ital.* tom. xxv. pp. 609-614). It is amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the courtier and citizen. *Facinus profecto quo . . . neque periculo horribilius, neque audacia detestabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditissimo usquam excogitatum sit . . . Perdetta la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene e amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.*

fectual, their liberty forever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses; after the conflagration of his palace, the prothonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded, and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Ursini.⁸⁶ But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers, who observed these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.⁸⁷

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion; and if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel; the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war: and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army

⁸⁶ The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. and exposed in the Diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the prothonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. pp. 1083, 1158.

⁸⁷ Est toute la terre de l'église troublée pour cette partialité (des Colannes et des Ursins) comme nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Chaballan; et quand ce ne seroit ce différend la terre de l'église seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets qui soit dans toute le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni gubres autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien conseillés); mais très souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

of hostile neighbors and loyal subjects.⁸⁸ Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times.⁸⁹ In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals.⁹⁰ After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all

⁸⁸ By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (*Vita*, tom. II. pp. 281-290); and so regular was the military establishment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. III. p. 84). Since that time (A. D. 1597) the papal arms are happily rusted: but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.*

⁸⁹ More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

⁹⁰ In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. III. pp. 289, 290); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

* On the financial measures of Sixtus V. see Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, I. p. 459.—M.

offensive hostilities, except in a hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples.⁹¹ The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord.⁹² The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendor was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

A Christian, a philosopher,⁹³ and a patriot, will be equally scandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and

⁹¹ The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., may be seen in Thuanus (l. xvi.-xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. pp. 199-163). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ: yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.*

⁹² This gradual change of manners and expense is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. pp. 495-504), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

⁹³ Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 369) too hastily concludes that if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, since the temporal character will always predominate.

* But compare Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, i. p. 289.—M.

triumphs, may seem to imbitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state, as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country; the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labors of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being, to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the calendar⁵⁴ above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens; and to consider the missal, or the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners: from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth⁵⁵ burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome,⁵⁶ formed a naval

⁵⁴ A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V., who placed the statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

⁵⁵ A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the *Vita di Sisto-Quinto* (Amstel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo.), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the annals of Spondanus and Muratori A. D. 1565-1590, and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii c. 1, 2, l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8). *

⁵⁶ These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius III. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitarum hujusmodi nomen: and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV., who in 1687 sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with

* The industry of M. Ranke has discovered the document, a kind of scandalous chronicle of the time from which Leti wrought up his amusing romances. See also M. Ranke's observations on the Life of Sixtus, by Tempesti, b. iii. pp. 217, 224.—

and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful or an injured people.⁹⁷ The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.⁹⁸

an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult Pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. pp. 280-278. Muratori, *Annali d' Italia* tom. xv. pp. 494-496, and Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. c. 14, pp. 58, 59).

⁹⁷ This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom. *Si quis, sive privatus, sive magistratum gerens de collocanda vivo pontifici statua mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munus exers esto.* MDXC. mense Augusto (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 489). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue should himself impose the prohibition.

⁹⁸ The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xvth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeschi (Ludovico Boncomitis) *Fragmenta Annalium Roman.* A. D. 1328, in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 825. N B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.
2. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ* (vulgo *Thomas Fortificorum*) in *Romana Dialecto vulgari* (A. D. 1327-1354, in Muratori, *Antiquitat. Medii Ævi Italiæ*, tom. iii. pp. 247-248); the authentic groundwork of the history of Rienzi.
3. Delphini (Gentilis) *Diarium Romanum* (A. D. 1370-1410), in the *Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.
4. Antoni (Petri) *Diarium Rom.* (A. D. 1404-1417), tom. xxiv. p. 699.
5. Petroni (Pauli) *Miscellanea Historica Romanæ* (A. D. 1435-1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volterrani (Jacob.) *Diarium Rom.* (A. D. 1472-1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi *Diarium Urbis Romæ* (A. D. 1481-1492), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infessura (Stephani) *Diarium Romanum* (A. D. 1294 or 1378-1494), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.
9. *Historia Arcana Alexandri VI. sive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi* (A. D. 1492-1503, edita a Godefr. Guilhelm. Leibnitzio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Burcard might be completed from the MSS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foucarmagne, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. xvii. pp. 597-600).

Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that subject: 1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A. D. 800-1800), *quorum politissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit*, &c., xxviii. vols. in folio, Milan, 1723-1738, 1751. A volume of

chronological and alphabetical tables is still wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective state. 2. *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, vi vols. in folio, Milan, 1738-1743, in lxxv. curious dissertations, on the manners, government, religion, &c., of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large supplement of charters, chronicles, &c. 3. *Dissertazioni sopra le Antiquità Italiane*, iii. vols. in 4to., Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. *Annali d' Italia*, xviii. vols. in octavo, Milan, 1752-1756, a very, though accurate and useful, abridgment of the history of Italy, from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiith century. 5. *Dell' Antichità Estense ed Italiana*, ii. vols. in folio, Modena, 1717, 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not seduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the subject. In all his works, Muratori approves himself a diligent and laborious writer, who aspires above the prejudices of a Catholic priest. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after passing near 80 years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Proposto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and successor Gian Francesco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4to.).

CHAPTER LXXI.

PROSPECT OF THE RUINS OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—FOUR CAUSES OF DECAY AND DESTRUCTION.—EXAMPLE OF THE COLISEUM.—RENOVATION OF THE CITY.—CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK.

IN the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth,* two of his servants, the learned Poggius¹ and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation.² The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primeval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,³ has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket; in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world,

¹ I have already (notes 50, 51, on chap. lxxv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

² *Consedimus in ipsâ Tarpeis ardis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim contractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte prospectus urbis patet* (p. 5).

³ *Æneid* viii. 97-389. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathize in the feelings of a Roman.

* It should be Pope Martin the Fifth. See Gibbon's own note, ch. lxx. note 51; and Hebbhouse, *Illustrations of Childe Harold*, p. 155.—M.

how is it fallen ; how changed ! how defaced ! The path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticos of Nero's palace : survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant ; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."⁴

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic, superstition.⁵ 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults, in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts: but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labor and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions ; a falling fragment was honored with the name of Trajan ; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of

⁴ Capitollum adeo . . . immutatum ut vines in sanatorum subcellia successerint, stercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera . . . cæteros colles perlustra omnia vacua ædificia, ruinis vineisque oppleta conspicias. (Poggius, de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21).

⁵ See Poggius, pp. 8-22.

Faustina and Gallienus.* 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated: 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost: but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labor; and I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a short inquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome.⁶ His

* *Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Isidori Armario IV., No. 69.* This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (*Diarium Italicum*, pp. 283-301), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: *Scriptor xliimi circiter sæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus et, ut ab illo sævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: sed, quia monumenta, quæ his temporibus Romæ supererant*

* One was in the Via Nomentana; est alter præterea Gallieno principi dicatus, ut superscriptio indicat, *Via Nomentanâ.* Hobhouse p. 154. Poggio likewise mentions the building which Gibbon ambiguously says he "might have overlooked."—M.

ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears; he could observe the visible remains; he could listen to the tradition of the people; and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period,⁷ and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the *Septizonium* of Severus;⁸ which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence; yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labors must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy, however, to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids,⁹ attracted the curiosity of the ancients: a hundred generations, the leaves of autumn,¹⁰ have dropped into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies,

pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis Antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283).

⁷ The Père Mabillon (*Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 502) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the 16th century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticos, which had disappeared before the 15th century.

⁸ On the *Septizonium*, see the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque* (tom. i. p. 325), Donatus (p. 388), and Nardini (pp. 117, 414).

⁹ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44, p. 72) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000, or 3400, years before the 61xxth Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (*Canon Chronicus*, p. 47).

¹⁰ See the speech of Glauco in the *Iliad* (Z. 146.) This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

the Cæsars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six or nine days.¹¹ Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices.¹² In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes, yet the memory of the old deplored the irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city.

1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted and consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy

¹¹ The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (*Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. viii. pp. 47-118, ix. pp. 172-187) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15 of the same year.

¹² Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenuis dejectæ: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius, the fane and altar consecrated by Evander præsentî Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a row of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum ærium decora . . . multa, quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (*Annal.* xv. 40, 41).

arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices, which have resisted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course; a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tiber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood.¹³ Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks;¹⁴ and, after the labors of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins,¹⁵ the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependant streams, was long opposed by superstition and local in-

¹³ A. U. C. 507, *repentina subversio ipsius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum . . . diversæ ignium aquarumque clades pene absumere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel liturnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plano posita elevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam at quæ segnior inundatio tenuit mæfacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsæ defectu* (Orosius, Hist. l. iv. c. 11, p. 244, edit. Havercamp). Yet we may observe, that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist to magnify the calamities of the Pagan world.

¹⁴

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undæ,
Ire defectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestæ.* (Horat. Carm. l. 2).

If the palace of Numa and temple of Vesta were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of *vetustissima* or *incorrupta*.

¹⁵ *Ad coercentes inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum* (Suetonius in Augusto, c. 30).

terests;¹⁶ nor did the use compensate the toil and costs of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature;¹⁷ and if such were the ravages of the Tiber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth, that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level;¹⁸ and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.¹⁹

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by a hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin;²⁰ to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth,

¹⁶ Tacitus (Annal. i. 79) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion, local interests would undoubtedly be consulted: but an English House of Commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

¹⁷ See the *Epoques de la Nature* of the eloquent and philosopher Buffon. His picture of Guyana, in South America, is that of a new and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (pp. 212, 561, quarto edition).

¹⁸ In his travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98, Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

¹⁹ Yet in modern times, the Tiber has sometimes damaged the city, and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. pp. 268, 429, tom. xv. p. 99, &c.).

²⁰ I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the course of twelve years, I have forgotten or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed (vol. i. p. 283). The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

* The level of the Tiber was at one time supposed to be considerably raised: recent investigations seem to be conclusive against this supposition. See a brief, but satisfactory, statement of the question in Bunsen and Platner, *Rome Beschreibung*, vol. i. p. 29.—M.

the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth,²¹ the Vandals on the fifteenth, day:²² and though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric;²³ and that the momentary resentment of Totila²⁴ was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the dæmons, were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labor with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East²⁵ affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by

²¹ History of the Decline, &c., vol. iii. p. 55.

²² _____ vol. iii. p. 218.

²³ _____ vol. iii. pp. 893-895.

²⁴ _____ vol. iii. p. 810.

²⁵ _____ vol. ii. c. xxviii. pp. 690-697.

the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.*²⁶

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic wagons or the fleet of the Vandals.²⁷ Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit stripped the

²⁶ Eodem tempore petiit a Phœate principe templum, quod appellatur *Pantheon*, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiâ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV., in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. P. i. p. 136). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV., on the calends of November, to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (pp. 207, 208).

²⁷ Flaminius Vaca (apud Montfaucon, pp. 155, 156. His memoir is likewise printed, p. 21, at the end of the Roman Antiquities of Nardini) and several Romans, doctores graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks illis nepotibusque. He relates some anecdotes to prove, that, in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

* The popes, under the dominion of the emperor and of the exarchs, according to Fœa's just observation, did not possess the power of disposing of the buildings and monuments of the city according to their own will. Bunsen and Platner, vol. i. p. 241.—M.

bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon.²⁸ The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine; the first labor of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments; but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labor and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars; but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna²⁹ and Rome.³⁰ Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest, and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples.³¹ But these examples of plunder or purchase

²⁸ Omnia quæ erant in are ad ornam civitatis depositæ; sed et ecclesiam B. Marci ad martyres quæ de tegulis cretis cooperta discooperuit (Anast. in Vitalian. p. 141). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering a heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

²⁹ For the spoils of Ravenna (musely atque marmora) see the original grant of Pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epist. lxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 223).

³⁰ I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887-889), *de Rebus gestis Caroli magni*, l. v. 437-440, in the *Historians of France* (tom. v. p. 180):

Ad quæ marmoreas præstabat ROMA columnas,
Quasdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit.
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetustas
Illius ornatum, Francia, ferre tibi.

And I shall add from the *Chronicle of Sigebert* (*Historians of France*, tom. v. p. 878), *extruxit etiam Aquisgranî basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus structuram à ROMA et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehit fecit.*

³¹ I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (Opp. pp. 536, 537) in *Epistola hortatoria ad Nicolaum Laurentium*; it is so strong and full to the point: *Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impij spoliata Dei templa, occupatas creas, opes publicas, regiones urbis, atque honores magistratuum inter se divisos; (habent?) quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac seditiosi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consilia et rationibus discordes, inhumani fœderis stupendâ societate convenirent, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides deservirent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsæ palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post disruptos areus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem quæstum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus flebat), de imaginibus sepulchrorum sub quibus*

were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the *Campus Martius*; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of baths²² and porticos was forgotten: in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests,²³ who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the *Septizonium* in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's.²⁴ A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as

patrium vestrorum venerabilis civis (cims?) erat, ut reliquas sileam, desidiola Neapolis adornatur. Sic paulatim ruina ipsa deficient. Yet King Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

²² Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at *Aix la Chapelle* with a hundred of his courtiers (*Eginhart*, c. 22, pp. 108, 109), and *Muratori* describes, as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at *Spoleto* in Italy (*Annali*, tom. vi. p. 418).

²³ See the *Annals of Italy*, A. D. 988. For this and the preceding fact, *Muratori* himself is indebted to the *Benedictine history of Pere Mabillon*.

²⁴ *Vita di Sisto Quinto*, da Gregorio Leti, tom. lii. p. 80.

well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement.* Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord,⁸⁶ and many capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity.⁸⁵ The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people;⁸⁷ and I hesitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand,⁸⁸ the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have reserved for the last, the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the pres-

⁸⁵ *Porticus sedis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso: Romani postmodum ad calcem sedem totam et porticus partem disjunctis columnis sunt demoliti* (p. 12). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* destroyed by a sedition in the thirteenth century, as I have read in a MS. treatise del' Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms that the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (pp. 19, 201).

⁸⁶ Composed by Æneus Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and published by Mabillon, from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (*Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 97).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas:
Ex cujus lapidæ gloria prisca patet.
Sed tunc hic populus muris defossa vetustis
Calceis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

⁸⁷ *Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter spatium vacuus videretur, populorum habet immensum* (Opp. p. 605, *Epist. Familiaræ*, ll. 14).

⁸⁸ These states of the population of Rome at different periods are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancisi, *de Romani Cæli Qualitatibus* (p. 122).

* From the quotations in Bunsen's Dissertation, it may be suspected that this slow but continual process of destruction was the most fatal. Ancient Rome was considered a quarry from which the church, the castle of the baron, or even the hovel of the peasant, might be repaired.—M.

ence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword, and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law, the powerful citizens were armed for safety, or offence, against the domestic enemies whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers,³⁹ that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law, which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet, may be extended with suitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancalone in the establishment of peace and justice, was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines.⁴⁰ With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mansoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo;⁴¹ the Septizonium of

³⁹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, *Antiquitates Italice Medii ævi*, dissertat. xxvi. (tom. II. pp. 493-496, of the Latin, tom. I. p. 446, of the Italian work).

⁴⁰ As for instance, templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangipanis: et sane Jano impoſite turris lateritias conspicua hodieque vestigia ſupersunt (*Montfaucon Diagramm Italiconum*, p. 186). The anonymous writer (p. 285) enumerates, arcus Titii, turris Cartularia; arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum, turres de Brallis; arcus Antonini, turris de Cossetis, &c.

⁴¹ Hadriani molem . . . magna ex parte Romanorum injuria . . . disturbavit; quod certe funditus evertissent, si eorum manibus pervia, absumptis grandibus saxis, reliqua moles exstisset (*Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ*, p. 12.)

Severus was capable of standing against a royal army;⁴² * the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks;⁴³ the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families;⁴⁴ and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendor and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and poet of the times,⁴⁵ "were crushed by the weight and velocity of enormous stones;"⁴⁶ the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses

⁴² Against the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. ix. p. 147).

⁴³ I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: *Turris ingens rotunda . . . Cæcilie Metellæ . . . sepulchrum erat, ejus murum solidi, ut spatium porquam minimum intus vacuum supersit; et Torre di Rove dictur, a bonis capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic sequenti ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, cum urbe omnia adjuncta fuit, ejus mœnia et turres etiamnum visuntur; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusque partis diticonem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142).*

⁴⁴ See the testimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are still great and conspicuous.

⁴⁵ James, cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical life of Pope Celestin V. (Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. i. P. iii. p. 621, l. i. c. i, ver. 132, &c.).

Hoc dixisse sat est, Romam carnisse Senatu
Mensibus exactis heu sex; belloque vocatum (*vocatos*)
In æclum, in socios fraternaque vulnera patres;
Tormentis fecisse viros immania saxa;
Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas
Ignibus; incensas turres, obscuraque fumo
Lumina vicino, quo sit spoliata supellex.

⁴⁶ Muratori (*Dissertatione sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. pp. 427-431) finds that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds' weight were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii. or xviii. *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

* This is inaccurately expressed. The sepulchre is still standing. See Hobhouse, p. 204.—M.

and castles they razed to the ground.⁴⁷ In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the laureate, "the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the Barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with battering-ram what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword."⁴⁸ The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.*

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM,⁴⁹ either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue; an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods

⁴⁷ The sixth law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvanus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041).

⁴⁸ Petrarch thus addresses his friend, who, with shame and tears, had shown him the remains, *hecera specimen miserabile Romæ*, and declared his own intention of restoring them (*Carmina Latina*, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalesi, xii. pp. 97, 98).

Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis
Quanta quod integra fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!
Quod ille nequivit (*Hannibal*.)

Perficit hic aries.

⁴⁹ The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the marquis Maffei professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions; wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or *Colitarum*, since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court (*in ædric*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (P. iv. pp. 18-19, l. i. c. 4).

* Bunsen has shown that the hostile attacks of the emperor Henry the Fourth, but more particularly that of Robert Guiscard, who burned down whole districts, inflicted the worst damage on the ancient city. Vol. i. p. 237.-M.

and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals;⁶⁰ the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.⁶¹ Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."⁶² In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress: but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.⁶³

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of

⁶⁰ Joseph Maria Suardi, a learned bishop, and the author of a history of Præneste, has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thesaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (*Diarium*, p. 233) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the *unam germanamque causam foraminum*.*

⁶¹ Donatus, *Roma Vetust et Nova*, p. 285.†

⁶² *Quandiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* (Bede in *Excerptis seu Collectaneis* apud Duncange *Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis*, tom. II, p. 407, edit. Basil.). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 785, the era of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

⁶³ I cannot recover, in Muratori's original *Lives of the Popes* (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. III. P. 1.), the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the eighth century.‡

* The improbability of this theory is shown by Bunsen, vol. I. p. 239.—M.

† Gibbon has followed Donatus, who supposes that a silk manufactory was established in the eighth century in the Coliseum. The Bandonarii, or Banderarii, were the officers who carried the standards of their *school* before the pope. Hobhouse, p. 289.—M.

‡ "The division is mentioned in Vit. Innocent. (Pap. II. ex Cardinale Aragono (*Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. III. P. 1, p. 436), and Gibbon might have found frequent other records of it at other dates." Hobhouse's illustrations of Childe Harold, p. 130.—M.

the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis,⁵⁴ were regulated by the law⁵⁵ or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*,⁵⁶ as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;⁵⁷ and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.⁵⁸ A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which, on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist

⁵⁴ Although the structure of the circus Agonalis be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona); and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purposes of racing. But the Monte Testaccio, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some wagon-loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (*Statuta Urbis Romæ*, p. 186).

⁵⁵ See the *Statuta Urbis Romæ*, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89, pp. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaccio are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417 (*Muratorius, Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xxiv. p. 1124).

⁵⁶ The *Pallium*, which Menage so foolishly derives from *Palmarum*, is an easy extension of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (*Muratorius, dissert. xxxii.*).

⁵⁷ For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Judas had betrayed his Master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (*Statuta Urbis, ibidem*).

⁵⁸ This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum is described from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (*Muratorius, Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xii. pp. 536, 538); and however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colors of truth and nature.

has selected the names, colors, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state: Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi: the colors were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong:" "Strong as I am great:" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me;"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.⁵⁰

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous

⁵⁰ Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the Middle Ages.

act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum; ⁶⁰ and Poggius laments, that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. ⁶¹ To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent. ⁶² After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilego and luxury of these upstart princes. ⁶³ A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs. ⁶⁴

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments, whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the

⁶⁰ In a concise but instructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xvth century de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

⁶¹ Coliseum . . . ob stultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem delatum, says the indignant Poggius (p. 17); but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xvth century.

⁶² Of the Olivetan monks. Montfaucon (p. 142) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Yacca (No. 72). They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

⁶³ After measuring the præcisus amphitheatrici gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds that it was entire under Paul III; tacendo clamat. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 371) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pops, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

⁶⁴ As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum: Quod si non suapte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fulset quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore sacrum tantopere sævitum esse.

supine indifference⁶⁶ of the Romans themselves; ⁶⁶ he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi, and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis.⁶⁷ The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol⁶⁸ may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be esteemed at one-third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art magic,⁶⁹ that if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger." A second example, of less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since

⁶⁶ Yet the statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81, p. 182) impose a fine of 500 aurei on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruins civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

⁶⁷ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 322, &c.) Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stupore mole obrutus. . . . Præsentia vero, mirum dicta nihil immittit; vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquas quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hac urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605, *Familiares*, li. 14, Joanni Columnæ).

⁶⁸ He excepts and praises the rare knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Inventus dico, usquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ.

⁶⁹ After the description of the Capitol, he adds, status erant quot sunt mundi provinciae; et habebat quilibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Eterant ita per magicum artem dispositae, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat statim imago illius provinciae vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitoli qui erant custodes senatus, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suovi, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum sonuit; sacerdotes qui erant in speculo in hebdomada senatoribus nuntiavit. Agrippa marched back and reduced the — Persians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, pp. 217, 218).

⁷⁰ The same writer affirms that Virgil captured a Romanus invisibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xth century, is introduced by William of Malmesbury (*de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 86); and in the time of Flaminius Vaca (No. 81, 103) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the Goths) invoked the demons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius; they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth or knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honor of leaving this eternal monument of themselves.⁷⁰ Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age.⁷¹ The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some laborers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave.⁷² The discovery of the statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a lawsuit. It had been found under a partition wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.⁷³

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled: and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of

⁷⁰ Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191) justly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad clv.), who lived before the conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxiv. 13).

⁷¹ William of Malmesbury (l. ii. pp. 86, 87) relates a marvellous discovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus, the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

⁷² Prope porticum Minervæ, statua est recubantis, ejus caput integrè effigie tantæ magnitudinis, ut signa omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores scrobefaciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum adeuntium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patrouis congestâ humo textit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12).

⁷³ See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca, No. 57, pp. 11, 12, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini (1704, in 4to.).

Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city is the labor and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire; and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican, the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains, however, the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants;⁷⁴ and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendor of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St.

⁷⁴ In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,588 souls (Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. iii. pp. 217, 218). In 1740, they had increased to 148,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 181,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labors of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student:⁷⁵ and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by a History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic;

⁷⁵ The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days: he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Diarium Italicum*, c. 8-20, pp. 104-301). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of Ancient Rome, the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martiannus, and Faunus, the superior labors of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labors; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes obsecravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence; but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

the disorders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candor of the public.

LAUSANNE, *June 27, 1787.*



GENERAL INDEX.

[N. B.—*The Roman numerals refer to the volume, and the figures to the page.*]

A.

- ANAN, the Saracen, heroism of his widow, iv. 424.
 Abbassides, elevation of the house of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, iv. 509.
 Abdallah, the Saracen, his excursion to plunder the fair of Abyla, iv. 429.
 Abdalmalek, caliph of the Saracens, refuses tribute to the emperor of Constantinople, and establishes a national mint, iv. 495.
 Abdalrahman, the Saracen, establishes his throne at Cordova in Spain, iv. 512. Splendor of his court, 515. His estimate of his happiness, 515.
 Abdolniz, the Saracen, his treaty with Theodemir, the Gothic prince of Spain, iv. 479. His death, 481.
 Abderame, his expedition to France and victories there, iv. 505. His death, 507.
 Abdi Metalloh, the grandfather of the prophet Mahomet, his history, iv. 386.
 Abgarus, inquiry into the authenticity of his correspondence with Jesus Christ, iv. 251.
 Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, sent in chains to Rome, i. 206.
 Ablavius, the confidential prefect under Constantine the Great, a conspiracy formed against him on that emperor's death, ii. 90. Is put to death, 92.
 Abu Ayub, his history, and the veneration paid to his memory by the Mahometans, iv. 494, v. 449.
 Abubekor, the friend of Mahomet, is one of his first converts, iv. 355. Flies from Mecca with him, 358. Succeeds Mahomet as caliph of the Saracens, 385. His character, 403.
 Abu Onab commands the Andalusian Moors who subdued the island of Crete, iv. 526.
 Abulfeda, his account of the splendor of the caliph Mootader, iv. 514.
 Abulpharagius, primate of the Eastern Jacobites, some account of, iv. 163. His encomium on wisdom and learning, iv. 517.
 Abundantius, general of the East and patron of the eunuch Eutropius, is disgraced and exiled by him, iii. 89.
 Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, conspires the death of Mahomet, iv. 358. Battles of Beder and Ohud, 364, 365. Besieges Medina without success, 366. Surrenders Mecca to Mahomet and receives him as a prophet, 369.
 Abu Taher, the Carmathian, pillages Mecca, iv. 538.
 Abu Taleb opposes Mahomet, iv. 337, 357.
 Abyla, the fair of, plundered by the Saracens, iv. 429.
 Abyssinia, the inhabitants of, described, iii. 591. Their alliance with the emperor Justinian, 593. Ecclesiastical history of, iv. 172.
 Acacius, bishop of Amida, an uncommon instance of episcopal benevolence, iii. 117.
 Achaia, its extent, i. 66.
 Acre, the memorable siege of, by the crusaders, v. 101. Final loss of, 116.
 Actions, institutes of Justinian respecting, iii. 708.
 Actium, a review of Roman affairs after the battle of, i. 109.

- Adaustus**, the only martyr of distinction during the persecution under Diocletian, i. 650.
- Adolphus**, the brother of Alaric, brings him a reinforcement of troops, iii. 39. Is made count of the domestics to the new emperor Attalus, 47. Succeeds his brother as king of the Goths, and concludes a peace with Honorius, 59, 69. Is assassinated in the palace of Barcelona, 73.
- Adoption**, the two kinds of, under the Greek empire, v. 43, *note*.
- Adoration** of the Roman emperor, custom of, and derivation of the term, iv. 567.
- Adorno**, the Genoese governor of Phocæa, conveys Amurath II. from Asia to Europe, v. 331.
- Adrian I.**, Pope, his alliance with Charlemagne against the Lombards, iv. 271. His reception of Charlemagne at Rome, 274. Asserts the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 277.
- Adulis**, seaport, its ruins now called Azoolé, iii. 436, *note M*.
- Adultery**, distinctions of, how punished by Augustus, iii. 713, and by the Christian emperors, 715.
- Ægidius**, his character, and revolt in Gaul, iii. 233. His son Syagrius, 308.
- Ælia Capitolina**, founded on Mount Sion, by Hadrian, i. 517.
- Ælius Pætus**, his *Tripartita*, the oldest work of Roman jurisprudence, iii. 664.
- Æmilianus**, governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, routs the barbarous invaders of the empire, and is declared emperor by his troops, i. 314.
- Æneas** of Gaza, his attestation of the miraculous gift of speech to the Catholic confessors of Tipasa, whose tongues had been cut out, iii. 297.
- Æneas Sylvius**, his account of the impracticability of a European crusade against the Turks, v. 454. His epigram on the destruction of ancient buildings in Rome, 553, *note*.
- Æra** of the world, remarkable epochs in, pointed out, iii. 473, *note*. *Calaman*, of the Turks, when settled, iv. 717.
- Ærial Tribute** in the Eastern empire, iii. 442.
- Æthiopia**, Christianity established in, iv. 172. The Portuguese navigators repel the incursions of Turks and Arabs in, 174. Mr. Bruce's travels, and Pearce's narrative respecting, 176, *note M*.
- Ætius**, surnamed the Atheist, his character and adventures, ii. 224, 232, 246, *note*.
- Ætius**, the Roman general under Valentinian III., his character, iii. 125. His treacherous scheme to ruin Count Boniface, 126. Is forced to retire into Pannonia, 135. His invitation of the Huns into the empire, 143. Seizes the administration of the Western empire, 174. His character, as given by Renatus, a contemporary historian, 175. Employs the Huns and Alani in the defence of Gaul, 177. Concludes a peace with Theoderic, 179. Raises the siege of Orleans, 188. Battle of Chalons, 190. His prudence on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 199. Is murdered by Valentinian, 205.
- Æfrica**, its situation and revolutions, i. 70. Great revenue raised from, by the Romans, 215. Progress of Christianity there, 575. Is distracted with religious discord in the time of Constantine the Great, ii. 203. Character and revolt of the Circumcellions, 260. Oppressions of, under the government of Count Romanus, 451. General state of Africa, 454. The slave trade, 456, *note M*. Revolt of Count Boniface there, iii. 126. Arrival of Genseric, king of the Vandals, 128. Persecution of the Donatists, 129. Devastations of, by the Vandals, 132. Carthage surprised by Genseric, 136. Persecution of the Catholics, 289. Expedition of Belisarius to, 481. Is recovered by the Romans, 493. The government of, settled by Justinian, 493. Revolt of the troops there under Stotz, 593. Devastation of the war, 599. Invasion of by the Saracens, iv. 459. Conquest of by Akbah, 463. Decline and extinction of Christianity there, 487. Revolt and independence of the Saracens there, 540.

- Aglabites, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 540.
- Aglae, a Roman lady, patronizes St. Boniface, i. 651.
- Agricola, review of his conduct in Britain, i. 46. His fortified line across Scotland, 47, *note* M.
- Agriculure, great improvement of, in the western countries of the Roman empire, i. 101. State of, in the Eastern empire under Justinian, iii. 430.
- Ahriman, the evil principle, among the Persians, i. 256, *note* G.
- Aiznadin, battle of, between the Saracens and the Greeks, iv. 422.
- Ajax, the sepulchre of, how distinguished, ii. 17.
- Akbah, the Saracen, his exploits in Africa, iv. 468.
- Alani, occasion of these people invading Asia, i. 386. Supposed by Klaproth to be the ancestors of the true Albanians, ii. 139, *note* M. Conquest of, by the Huns, ii. 491. Join with the Huns against the Goths, 495. See Goths, and Vandals.
- Alaric, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodosius the Great, ii. 586. Becomes the leader of the Gothic revolt, and ravages Greece, 648, 647. Escapes from Stilicho, 651. Is appointed master-general of the Eastern Illyricum, 652. His invasion of Italy, 653. Is defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 658. Is driven out of Italy, 660. Is, by treaty with Honorius, declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum, 680. His pleas and motives for marching to Rome, iii. 11. Encamps under the walls of that city, 14. Accepts a ransom and raises the siege, 38. His negotiations with the emperor Honorius, 39. His second siege of Rome, 44. Places Attalus on the imperial throne, 44. Degrades him, 47. Seizes the city of Rome, 48. His sack of Rome compared with that by the emperor Charles V., 55. Retires from Rome and ravages Italy, 56. His death and burial, 58.
- Alaric II., king of the Goths, his overthrow by Clovis, king of the Franks, iii. 320.
- Albanians, the, ii. 139, *note*, and *note* M.
- Alberio, the son of Marozia, his revolt, and government of Rome, iv. 302.
- Albigois of France, persecution of, iv. 600.
- Alboin, king of the Lombards, his history, iv. 16. His alliance with the Avars against the Gepids, 18. Reduces the Gepids, 18. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 19. Overruns what is now called Lombardy, 22. Assumes the regal title there, 23. Takes Pavia and makes it his capital city, 23. Is murdered at the instigation of his queen, Rosamond, 24.
- Alchemy, the books of, in Egypt, destroyed by Diocletian, i. 427.
- Aleppo, siege and capture of, by the Saracens, iv. 498. Is recovered by the Greeks, 546. Is taken and sacked by Tamerlane, v. 312.
- Alexander III., Pope, establishes the papal election in the college of cardinals, v. 483.
- , archbishop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius for his heresy, ii. 217.
- Severus is declared Cæsar by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 202. Is raised to the throne, 203. Examination into his pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 267. Showed a regard for the Christian religion, 630.
- Alexandria, a general massacre there by order of the emperor Caracalla, i. 190. The city described, 342. Is ruined by ridiculous intestine commotions, 342; by famine and pestilence, 344. Is besieged and taken by Diocletian, 428. The Christian theology reduced to a systematical form in the school of, 574. Number of martyrs who suffered there in the persecution by Decius, 625; *vide note* G. The theological system of Plato taught in the school of, and received by the Jews there, ii. 207, 208, *notes* G. and M. Questions concerning the nature of the Trinity agitated in the philosophical and Christian schools of, 218. History of the archbishop St. Athanasius, 234; *vide* Athanasius. Suffers greatly by an earthquake, 473. History of the temple of Serapis there, 603. This temple

- and the famous library destroyed by Bishop Theophilus, 604, 605. Is taken by Amrui, the Saracen, iv. 452. The famous library destroyed, 453.
- Alexius Angelus, his usurpation of the Greek empire, and character, v. 123. Flies before the crusaders, 146.
- I. Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 227. New titles of dignity invented by him, 564. Battle of Durazzo, 672. Solicits the aid of the emperor Henry III., 670. Solicits the aid of the Christian princes against the Turks, v. 16. His suspicious policy on the arrival of the crusaders, 41, 42. Exacts homage from them, 43. Profits by the success of the crusaders, 75.
- II. Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 235.
- Strategopulus, the Greek general, retakes Constantinople from the Latins, v. 189.
- , the son of Isaac Angelus, his escape from his uncle, who had deposed his father, v. 128. His treaty with the crusaders for his restoration, 138. Restoration of his father, 147. His death, 152.
- Alfred sends an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India, iv. 159.
- Algebra, by whom invented, iv. 520.
- Ali joins Mahomet in his prophetic mission, iv. 355. His heroism, 368. His character, 384. Is chosen caliph of the Saracens, 388. Devotion paid at his tomb, 395. His posterity, 396.
- Algern defends Cumæ for his brother Toias, king of the Goths, iii. 623. Is reduced, 624.
- Allectus murders Carausius and usurps his station, i. 422. Is slain in Britain, 423.
- Allomanni, the origin and warlike spirit of, i. 310. Are driven out of Italy by the senate and people, 321. Invade the empire in the reign of Aurelian, 357. Are totally routed, 359. Gaul delivered from their depredations by Constantius Chlorus, 421. Invade and establish themselves in Gaul, ii. 143. Are defeated at Strasburgh by Julian, 149. Are reduced by Julian in his expeditions beyond the Rhine, 152. Invade Gaul under the emperor Valentinian, 435. Are reduced by Jovinus, 436. And chastised by Valentinian, 437. Are subdued by Clovis, king of the Franks, iii. 310.
- Alp Arslan, sultan of the Turks, his reign, iv. 708. His death, 714.
- Alpius, governor of Britain, is commissioned by the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, ii. 329.
- Amala, king of the Goths, his high credit among them, i. 305.
- Amalasontha, queen of Italy, her history and character, iii. 505, 506. Her death, 508.
- Amalphi, description of the city and its commerce, iv. 645, 663.
- Amazons, improbability of any society of, i. 372, *note*. Klapproth's theory respecting, 372, *note M*.
- Ambition, reflections on the violence and various operations of that passion, iv. 246.
- Ambrose, St. composed a treatise on the Trinity for the use of the emperor Gratian, ii. 539, *note*. His birth and promotion to the archbishopric of Milan, 560. Opposes the Arian worship of the empress Justina, 561. Refuses obedience to the imperial power, 564. Controls the emperor Theodosius, 578. Imposes penance on Theodosius for his cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 579. Employs his influence over Gratian and Theodosius to inspire them with maxims of persecution, 592. Opposes Symmachus, the advocate for the old pagan religion, 597. Comforts the citizens of Florence with a dream when besieged by Radagaisus, 670.
- Amida, siege of, by Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 138, *note M*. Receives the fugitive inhabitants of Nisibis, 401. Is besieged and taken by Cadesar, king of Persia, iii. 463.
- Amir, prince of Ionia, his character, and passage into Europe, v. 284.

- Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, his religious character of the emperor Constantius, ii. 232. His remark on the enmity of Christians towards each other, 263. His account of the fiery obstructions to restoring the temple of Jerusalem, 331. His account of the hostile contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, 433. Testimony and favor of his historical merit, 527. His character of the nobles of Rome, iii. 21.
- Ammonius, the mathematician, his measurement of the circuit of Rome, iii. 32.
- , the monk of Alexandria, his martyrdom, iv. 119.
- Amorium, siege and destruction of, by the caliph Motassem, iv. 533.
- Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, gains the favor of the emperor Theodosius by an orthodox *bon mot*, ii. 547.
- Amphitheatre at Rome, a description of, i. 407; v. 556, 557, *note M*.
- Amrou, his birth and character, iv. 445. His invasion and conquest of Egypt, 446. His administration there, 456. His description of the country, 457.
- Amurath I., sultan of the Turks, his reign, v. 288. His death, 289, *note M*.
- II., sultan, his reign and character, v. 390. His double abdication, 391. Error of Gibbon, 392, *note M*.
- Anachorets, in monkish history, described, iii. 278.
- Anacletus, Pope, his Jewish extraction, v. 492.
- Anastasius I. marries the empress Ariadne, iii. 377. His war with Theodoric, the Ostrogoth king of Italy, 380. His economy celebrated, 438. Epigram thereon, 438, *note M*. His long wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 457. Is humbled by the Catholic clergy, iv. 140.
- II., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 101. His preparations of defence against the Saracens, iv. 407.
- , St., his brief history and martyrdom, iv. 83, *note*.
- Anatho, city of, on the banks of the Euphrates, described, ii. 306.
- Andalusin, derivation of the name of that province, iv. 470, *note*.
- Andronicus, president of Libya, excommunicated by Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, ii. 106.
- Andronicus Comnenus, his character and first adventures, iv. 235. Seizes the empire of Constantinople, 241, 243, *note M*. His unhappy fate, 244.
- the Elder, emperor of Constantinople, his superstition, v. 234. His war with his grandson, and abdication, 243, 244, 245, *note M*.
- the Younger, emperor of Constantinople, his licentious character, v. 237. His civil war against his grandfather, 238. His reign, 241. Is vanquished and wounded by Sultan Orchan, 283. His private application to Pope Benedict XII. of Rome, 330.
- Angora, battle of, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, v. 315.
- Anianus, bishop of Orleans, his pious anxiety for the relief of that city when besieged by Attila the Hun, ii. 186.
- Anician family at Rome, brief history of, iii. 10.
- Anna Comnena, character of her history of her father, Alexius I., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 229. Her conspiracy against her brother John, 231.
- Anthemius, emperor of the West, his descent and investiture by Leo the Great, iii. 237. His election confirmed at Rome, 238. Is killed in the sack of Rome by Ricimer, 252.
- , prefect of the East, character of his administration in the minority of the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 109.
- , the architect, instances of his great knowledge in mechanics, iii. 448. Forms the design of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 449.
- Anthony, St., father of the Egyptian monks, his history, iii. 266.
- Anthropomorphites, among the early Christians, personifiers of the Deity, iv. 112.
- Antioch taken and destroyed by Sapor, king of Persia, i. 332. Flourishing

- state of the Christian church there in the reign of Theodosius, 572. History of the body of St. Babylas, bishop of, ii. 340. The cathedral of, shut up, and its wealth confiscated by the emperor Julian, 341. Licentious manners of the citizens, 354. Popular discontent during the residence of Julian there, 355. Sedition there against the emperor Theodosius, 373. The city pardoned, 375. Is taken and ruined by Chosroes, king of Persia, iii. 574. Great destruction there by an earthquake, 640. Is again seized by Chosroes II., iv. 80. Is reduced by the Saracens, and ransomed, 440. Is recovered by the Greeks, 546. Besieged and taken by the first crusaders, v. 52.
- Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, her character, iii. 479. Examines and convicts Pope Sylvester of treachery, 525. Her activity during the siege of Rome, 527. Her secret history, 539. Founda a convent for her retreat, 634.
- Antoninus, a Roman refugee at the court of Sapor, king of Persia, stimulates him to an invasion of the Roman provinces, ii. 136.
- , Pius, his character, and that of Hadrian, compared, i. 50. Is adopted by Hadrian, 127.
- , Marcus, his defensive wars, i. 51. Is adopted by Pius at the instance of Hadrian, 128, *note M*. His character, 128, 135. His war against the united Germans, 295. Suspicious story of his edict in favor of the Christians, 327.
- Aper, Arrius, prætorian præfect, and father-in-law to the emperor Numerian, i. 410. Is killed by Diocletian as the presumptive murderer of that prince, 411.
- Apharban, the Persian, his embassy from Narses, king of Persia, to the emperor Galerius, i. 435.
- Apocalypse, why now admitted into the canon of the Scriptures, i. 535, *note*; also *note M*.
- Apocæneus, admiral of Constantinople, his confederacy against John Cantauzene, v. 244. His death, 247.
- Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, his hypothesis of the divine incarnation of Jesus Christ, iv. 114.
- , patriarch of Alexandria, butchers his flock in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation, iv. 169.
- Apollonius of Tyana, his doubtful character, i. 367, *note*.
- Apotheosis, or deification of the Roman emperors, how this custom was introduced, i. 119, 120, 121; *vide notes M. and W*.
- Asparmar dethrones Leontius, emperor of Constantinople, and usurps his place, iv. 188. His death, 189.
- Apulia is conquered by the Normans, iv. 653. Is confirmed to them by papal grant, 657.
- Aquileia besieged by the emperor Maximin, i. 239. Is taken and destroyed by Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 195.
- Aquitain is settled by the Goths, under their king Wallia, iii. 75. Is conquered by Clovis, king of the Franks, 321.
- Arabia, its situation, soil, and climate, iv. 314. Its division into the Sandy, the Stony, and the Happy, 316. The pastoral Arabs, 317; their horses and camels, 318. Cities of, 319. Manners and customs of the Arabs, 321; their language, 327; their benevolence, 329. History and description of the Caaba of Mecca, 331. Religions, 332. Life and doctrine of Mahomet, 336. Conquest of, by Mahomet, 370. Character of the caliphs or successors of Mahomet, and their rapid conquests, 402. Limits of the Arabian conquest, 492. Three caliphs established, 512. Introduction of learning among the Arabians, 516; their progress in the sciences, 519; their literary deficiencies, 522. Decline and fall of the caliphs, 535.
- Arario, king of the Goths, defeats Constantine, ii. 86, *note M*.

- Arbatio, a veteran under Constantine the Great, leaves his retirement to oppose the usurper Procopius, ii. 418.
- Arbogastus, the Frank, his military promotion under Theodosius in Gaul, and conspiracy against Valentinian the Younger, ii. 582. Is defeated by Theodosius, and kills himself, 587, 588.
- Arcadius, son of the emperor Theodosius, ii. 546. Succeeds to the empire of the East, 521. His magnificence, iii. 84. Extent of his dominions, 85. Administration of his favorite eunuch Eutropius, 86. His cruel law against treason, 91. Signs the condemnation of Eutropius, 95. His interview with the revolters Tribigild and Gainas, 97. His death and supposed testament, 108.
- Architecture, Roman, the general magnificence of, indicated by the existing ruins, i. 93.
- Ardaburius, his expedition to Italy to reduce the usurper John, iii. 123.
- Argonauts, the object of their expedition to Colchus, iii. 579.
- Ariadne, daughter of the emperor Leo, and wife of Zeno, her character, and marriage afterwards with Anastasius, iii. 377.
- Arii, a tribe of the Lygians, their terrific mode of waging war, i. 392.
- Arinthus is appointed general of the horse by the emperor Julian on his Persian expedition, ii. 365. Distinguishes himself against the usurper Procopius, 418.
- Ariovistus seizes two thirds of the lands of the Sequani in Gaul for himself and his German followers, iii. 332.
- Aristobulus, principal minister of the house of Oarus, is received into confidence by the emperor Diocletian, i. 414.
- Aristotle, his logic better adapted to the detection of error than for the discovery of truth, iv. 519.
- Arius is excommunicated for heretical notions concerning the Trinity, ii. 217. Strength of his party, 218. His opinions examined in the council of Nice, 220. Account of Arian sects, 223. Council of Rimini, 226. His banishment and recall, 229. His suspicious death, 230. Employs music and songs to propagate his heresy, 254, *note M*. The Arians persecute the Orthodoxes in Africa, iii. 288.
- Armenia is seized by Sapor, king of Persia, i. 331. Tiridates restored, 429. He is again expelled by the Persians, 432. Is resigned to Tiridates by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 439. Is rendered tributary to Persia on the death of Tiridates, ii. 95. Character of Arsaces Tiranus, king of, and his conduct towards the emperor Julian, 362, *note M*. Is reduced by Sapor to a Persian province, 457. Its distractions and division between the Persians and the Romans, iii. 117. History of Christianity in, ii. 183, 184; *vide note M*, iv. 106.
- Armies of the Eastern empire, state of, under the emperor Maurice, iv. 70.
- Armor, defensive, is laid aside by the Romans, and adopted by the Barbarians, ii. 591.
- Armorica, the provinces of, form a free government independent of the Romans, iii. 78, 79, *note M*. Submit to Clovis, king of the Franks, 812. Settlement of Britons in, 353, 354, *note M*.
- Arnold of Brescia, his heresy, and history, v. 465, 467. Is burnt, 468.
- Arragon, derivation of the name of that province, i. 62, *note*.
- Arrian, his visit to, and description of, Colchus, iii. 532.
- Arsaces Tiranus, king of Armenia, his character, and disaffection to the emperor Julian, ii. 362. Historical particulars of, 362, *note M*. Withdraws his troops treacherously from the Roman service, 379. His disastrous end, 456. Various traditions respecting, 457, *note M*.
- Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the emperor Michael Palæologus, v. 214. Faction of the Arsenites, 216.
- Artaban, king of Parthia, is defeated and slain by Artaxerxes, king of Persia, i. 253.

- Artaban, his conspiracy against the emperor Justinian, iii. 612. Is intrusted with the conduct of the armament sent to Italy, 616.
- Artasires, king of Armenia, is deposed by the Persians at the instigation of his own subjects, iii. 119.
- Artavasdes restores image-worship, iv. 258.
- Artaxerxes restores the Persian monarchy, i. 252. Prohibits every worship but that of Zoroaster, 261, 262, *note M*. His war with the Romans, 266. His character and maxims, 269.
- Artemius, duke of Egypt under Constantius, is condemned to death under Julian for cruelty and corruption, ii. 297.
- Arthur, king of the Britons, his history obscured by monkish fictions, iii. 354, 355.
- Arvandus, prætorian præfect of Gaul, his trial and condemnation by the Roman senate, iii. 246.
- Ascalon, battle of, between Godfrey of Bouillon and the sultan of Egypt, v. 66.
- Ascetics, in ecclesiastical history, account of, iii. 264.
- Asclepiodotus reduces and kills the British usurper Allectus, i. 423.
- Asia, summary view of the revolutions in that quarter of the world, i. 251.
- Asia Minor described, i. 67. Amount of its tribute to Rome, 214; *vide note M*. Is conquered by the Turks, iv. 719.
- Asiarch, nature of this office among the ancient Pagans, i. 568, *note*.
- Aspar is commissioned by Theodosius the Younger to conduct Valentinian III. to Italy, iii. 123. Places his steward Leo on the throne of the Eastern empire, 236. He and his sons murdered by Leo, 376.
- Assassins, the principality of, destroyed by the Moguls, v. 270, *note M*.
- Assemblies of the people abolished under the Roman emperors, i. 117. At what times the Comitia were revived, 117, *note W*. The nature of, among the ancient Germans, 284.
- Assyria, the province of, described, ii. 368. Is invaded by the emperor Julian, 360.
- Astarte, her image brought from Carthage to Rome as a spouse for Elagabalus, i. 200.
- Astolphus, king of the Lombards, takes the city of Ravenna, and attacks Rome, iv. 269. Is repelled by Pepin, king of France, 270.
- Astrology, why cultivated by the Arabian astronomers, iv. 520.
- Atabeks of Syria, the, v. 87.
- Athalaric, the son of Amalasontha, queen of Italy, his education and character, iii. 506.
- Athalaric, the Gothic chief, his war against the emperor Valens, ii. 465. His alliance with Theodosius, his death and funeral, 531, 532.
- Athanasius, St., archbishop of Alexandria, confesses his understanding bewildered by meditating on the divinity of the Logos, ii. 214. General view of his opinions, 221. His character and adventures, 234. Persecutions against him, 236. Charges against him, 237, *note M*. His first exile, 239. Restored, 239. His second exile, 240. Restored, 241. A third time expelled, 247. Outrages attending his expulsion, and the establishment of his successor George of Cappadocia, 248, 249. Writes invectives to expose the character of Constantius, 253. Is restored upon the death of George, 345. Is persecuted and expelled by Julian, 346. Again seated on the archiepiscopal throne by the popular voice, 405. His courage and eloquence, 405. His retirement and death, 429. Was not the author of the famous creed under his name, iii. *note*, 295, *note M*.
- , patriarch of Constantinople, his contests with the Greek emperor Andronicus the Elder, v. 234.
- Athenais, daughter of the philosopher Leonthus. See Eudocia.
- Athens, the libraries in that city, why said to have been spared by the Goths,

- i. 330. Naval strength of the republic of, during its prosperity, 502, *note*. Is laid under contribution by Alaric the Goth, ii. 647. Review of the philosophical history of, iii. 466. The schools of, silenced by the emperor Justinian, 470. Revolutions of, after the crusades, and its present state, v. 230.
- Athos, Mount, beatific visions of the monks of, v. 252.
- Atlantic Ocean, derivation of its name, i. 71.
- Atlas, Mount, description of, i. 70, *note*.
- Attacotti, a Caledonian tribe of cannibals, account of, ii. 447, 448, *note* M.
- Attalus, prefect of Rome, is chosen emperor by the senate under the influence of Alaric, iii. 44. Is publicly degraded, 47. His future fortune, 69.
- , a noble youth of Auvergne, his adventures, iii. 339.
- Attila the Hun, iii. 144. Description of his person and character, 144. His conquests, 147. His treatment of his captives, 154. Imposes terms of peace on Theodosius the Younger, 156. Oppresses Theodosius by his ambassadors, 159. Description of his royal residence, 164. Supposed to have been at Buda, 163, *note* M. His reception of the ambassadors of Theodosius, 165, 169. His behavior on discovering the scheme of Theodosius to get him assassinated, 170. His haughty messages to the emperors of the East and West, 173. His invasion of Gaul, 185. His oration to his troops on the approach of Aëtius and Theodoric, 189. Battle of Chalons, 190. His invasion of Italy, 194. His retreat purchased by Valentinian, 201. His death, 202.
- Atys and Cybele, the fable of, allegorized by the pen of Julian, ii. 309.
- Augurs, Roman, their number and peculiar office, ii. 503.
- Augustin, his account of the miracles wrought by the body of St. Stephen, ii. 616. Celebrates the plot of the Goths in the sacking of Rome, iii. 40. Approves the persecution of the Donatists of Africa, 130. His death, character, and writings, 133. History of his relics, 493, *note*.
- Augustulus, son of the patrician Orestes, is chosen emperor of the West, iii. 255. Is deposed by Odoacer, 256, 257. His banishment to the Lucullan villa in Campanian, 259.
- Augustus, emperor, his moderate exercise of power, i. 44. Is imitated by his successors, 45. His naval regulations, 61. His division of Gaul, 63. His situation after the battle of Actium, 109. He reforms the senate, 110. Procures a senatorial grant of the imperial dignity, 111. Division of the provinces between him and the senate, 114. Is allowed his military command and guards in the city of Rome, 114. Obtains the consular and tribunitian offices for life, 115. His character and policy, 121. Adopts Tiberius, 126. Forms an accurate register of the revenues and expenses of the empire, 214. Taxes instituted by him, 216. His naval establishments at Ravenna, ii. 664.
- Augustus and Cæsar, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 121.
- Aurelian, emperor, his birth and services, i. 359. His expedition against Palmyra, 366. His triumph, 372. His cruelty and death, 378, 378.
- Aurengzebe, account of his immense camp, i. 264, *note*.
- Aureolus is invested with the purple on the Upper Danube, i. 345.
- Ausonius, tutor of the emperor Gratian, his promotions, ii. 539, *note*.
- Autharis, king of the Lombards in Italy, his wars with the Franks, iv. 33. His adventurous gallantry, 38.
- Autun, the city of, stormed and plundered by the legions in Gaul, i. 363.
- Auvergne, province and city of, in Gaul, revolutions of, iii. 337.
- Auxiliaries, Barbarian, fatal consequences of their admission into the Roman armies, ii. 50.
- Avars are discomfited by the Turks, iii. 559. Their embassy to the emperor Justinian, 559. Their conquests in Poland and Germany, 560. Their embassy to Justin II., iv. 15. They join the Lombards against the Ge-

- pride, 18. Pride, policy, and power of their chagan, Baian, 65. Their conquests, 68. Invest Constantinople, 86. Reduction of their country, Pannonia, by Charlemagne, 292.
 Averroes, his religious infidelity, how far justifiable, iv. 523, *note*.
 Aversa, a town near Naples, built as a settlement for the Normans, iv. 651.
 Avienus, his character and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 200.
 Avignon, the holy see, how transferred from Rome to that city, v. 487. Return of Pope Urban V. to Rome, 523.
 Avitus, his embassy from Aëtius to Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, iii. 187. Assumes the empire, 215. His deposition and death, 221, 222.
 Axuch, a Turkish slave, his generous friendship to the princess Anna Comnena, iv. 231, and to Manuel Comnenus, 232.
 Azimuntium, the citizens of, defend their privileges against Peter, brother of the Eastern emperor Maurice, iv. 69.
 Azimus, remarkable spirit shown by the citizens of, against Attila and his Huns, iii. 158.

B.

- BAALBEQ, description of the ruins of, iv. 431.
 Babyrius, St., bishop of Antioch, his posthumous history, ii. 340.
 Bagaude, the, peasants of Gaul, revolt of, its occasion, and suppression by Maximian, i. 418. Derivation of this name, 418, *note M*.
 Bagdad becomes the royal residence of the Abbassides, iv. 513. Derivation of the name, 513, *note*. The fallen state of the caliphs of, 542. The city of, stormed and sacked by the Moguls, v. 271.
 Bahram, the Persian general, his character and exploits, iv. 57, *note M*. Is provoked to rebellion, 68. Dethrones Chosroes, 60. His death, 62. Embassy sent by him to meet the emperor Carus, i. 402. Saying of, 402, *note*. Anecdote of, 402, *note M*.
 Baian, chagan of the Avars, his pride, policy, and power, iv. 65. His perfidious seizure of Sirmium and Singidunum, 67. His conquests, 68. His treacherous attempt to seize the emperor Heraclius, 86. Invests Constantinople in conjunction with the Persians, 95. Retires, 96.
 Bajazet I., sultan of the Turks, his reign, v. 290. His correspondence with Tamerlane, 309. Is defeated and captured by Tamerlane, 315. Inquiry into the story of the iron cage, 317. His sons, 316, 328.
 Balbinus elected joint emperor with Maximus by the senate on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 236.
 Baldwin, count of Flanders, engages in the fourth crusade, v. 130. Is chosen emperor of Constantinople, 164. Is taken prisoner by Calo-John, king of the Bulgarians, 174. His death, 175, *note M*.
 ——— II., emperor of Constantinople, v. 183. His distresses and expedients, 184. His expulsion from that city, 190.
 Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, accompanies him on the first crusade, v. 32. Found the principality of Edessa, 52.
 Baltic Sea, progressive subsidence of the water of, i. 273, 274, *notes*. The Romans acquired their knowledge of the naval powers of, during their land journeys in search of amber, ii. 441, *note*.
 Baptism, theory and practice of, among the primitive Christians, ii. 180, 181, *note M*.
 Barbary, the name of that country, whence derived, iv. 468, *note*. The Moors of, converted to the Mahometan faith, 470.
 Barbadlo, general of infantry in Gaul under Julian, his misconduct, ii. 148.
 Barcochebas, his rebellion against the emperor Hadrian, i. 589.
 Bards, Celtic, their power of exciting martial enthusiasm in the people, i. 291,

- 392, notes G. and M. British, iii. 354, note M. Their peculiar office and duties, 359.
- Bari is taken from the Saracens by the joint efforts of the Latin and Greek empires, iv. 644. Government of the city, 645.
- Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, his dispute with the Greek theologians about the light of Mount Thabor, v. 252. His embassy to Rome from Andronicus the Younger, 340. His literary character, 392.
- Basil I., the Macedonian, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 207. Reduces the Paulicians, 301, 302.
- II., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 219. His great wealth, 580. His inhuman treatment of the Bulgarians, 618.
- Basil, archbishop of Caesarea, no evidence of his having been persecuted by the emperor Valens, ii. 429. Insults his friend, Gregory Nazianzen, under the appearance of promotion, 548. The father of the monks of Pontus, iii. 263.
- Basiliscus, brother of the empress Verina, is intrusted with the command of the armament sent against the Vandals in Africa, iii. 242. His fleet destroyed by Genseric, 243. His promotion to the empire, and death, 376, 377.
- Bassianus, high priest of the sun, his parentage, i. 196. Is proclaimed emperor at Emesa, 196. See Elagabalus.
- Bassianus, brother-in-law to Constantine, revolts against him, i. 494.
- Bassora, its foundation and situation, iv. 408.
- Baths, public, of Rome, described, iii. 30.
- Batnae, reception of the emperor Julian there, ii. 360. Etymology of this name, 360, note M.
- Beasts, wild, the variety of, introduced in the circus for the public games at Rome, i. 406.
- Bonauobro, M. de, character of his *Histoire Critique du Manichéisme*, iv. 106, note.
- Boder, battle of, between Mahomet and the Koreish of Mecca, iv. 364.
- Bedouens of Arabia, their mode of life, iv. 317.
- Bees, remarks on the structure of their combs and cells, iv. 517, note.
- Belgrade, or the White City, iv. 67.
- Belisarius, his birth and military promotion, iii. 479. "The Life of," by Lord Mahon, 478, note M. Is appointed by Justinian to conduct the African war, 479. Embarkation of his troops, 480. Lands in Africa, 484. Defeats Gellimer, 487. Is received into Carthage, 488. Final defeat of Gellimer, 491. Conquest of Africa, 495. His triumphant return to Constantinople, 498. Is declared sole consul, 499. Menaces the Ostrogoths of Italy, 505. Seizes Sicily, 509. Invades Italy, 512. Besieges Naples, 513. Enters Rome, 516. Is besieged in Rome by the Goths, 517. The siege again raised, 520. Causes Constantine, one of his generals, to be killed, 531. Siege of Ravenna, 535. Takes Ravenna by stratagem, 536. Returns to Constantinople, 537. His character and behavior, 538. Scandalous life of his wife Antonina, 539. His disgrace and submission, 542. Is sent into the East to oppose Chosroes, king of Persia, 575. His polite reception of the Persian ambassadors, 576. His second campaign in Italy, 604. His ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Rome, 608. Dissuades Totila from destroying Rome, 610. Recovers the city, 610. His final recall from Italy, 612. Rescues Constantinople from the Bulgarians, 631. His disgrace and death, 634.
- Benacus, the Lake, iii. 200, note M.
- Benedict XII., embassy from Andronicus the Younger to, proposing a union of the Latin and Greek churches, and soliciting aid against the Turks, v. 340. His character, 341.
- Benefice, in feudal language, explained, iii. 334. Resumption of, by the sovereign, 334, note M.

- Benevento, battle of, between Charles of Anjou and Mainfroy, the Sicilian usurper, v. 222.
- Beneventum, anecdotes relating to the siege of, iv. 647.
- Benjamin of Tudela, his account of the riches of Constantinople, iv. 560.
- Beræa, or Aleppo, reception of the emperor Julian there, ii. 350.
- Bernard, St., his character, and influence in promoting the second crusade, v. 85; *vide nota M.* His character of the Romans, 464.
- Bernier, his account of the camp of Aungmye, i. 264, *note*.
- Berytus, account of the law-school established there, ii. 43. Is destroyed by an earthquake, iii. 640.
- Bessarion, Cardinal, his character, v. 378, *note*.
- Bessas, governor of Rome for Justinian, his rapacity during the siege of that city by Totila the Goth, iii. 606. Occasions the loss of Rome, 607.
- Bezabde is taken and garrisoned by Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 141. Is ineffectually besieged by Constantius, 142.
- Bindoes, a Sassanian prince, deposes Hormouz, king of Persia, iv. 58.
- Birbright, the least invidious of all human distinctions, i. 224.
- Bishops, among the primitive Christians, the office of, explained, i. 554. Progress of episcopal authority, 556. Assumed dignity of episcopal government, 566. Number of, at the time of Constantine the Great, ii. 187. Mode of their election, 187, *note M.* Their power of ordination, 189. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese, how divided, 191, 193. Their civil jurisdiction, 194. Their spiritual censures, 195. Their legislative assemblies, 198.
- Bishops, rural, their rank and duties, ii. 187.
- Bissextile, superstitious regard to this year by the Romans, ii. 411.
- Bithynia, the cities of, plundered by the Goths, i. 825.
- Blemmyes, their revolt against the emperor Diocletian, i. 426.
- Boccace, his literary character, v. 374, *note M.*
- Boethius, the learned senator of Rome, his history, iii. 401. His confinement in the tower of Pavia; his celebrated "Consolation of Philosophy" composed while there, 405. His horrible execution, 405.
- Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, his character and military exploits, iv. 676. His route to Constantinople on the crusade, v. 40. His flattering reception by Alexius Comnenus, 43. Takes Antioch, and obtains the principality of it, 52, 54. His subsequent transactions, and death, 76, *note M.*
- Boniface, St., his history, i. 652; *vide nota M.*
- , Count, the Roman general under Valentinian III., his character, iii. 125. Is betrayed into a revolt by Aëtius, 126. His repentance, 131. Is besieged in Hippo Regius by Genseric, king of the Vandals, 138. Returns to Italy, and is killed by Aëtius, 136.
- , VIII., Pope, his violent contest with Philip the Fair, king of France, and his character, v. 486. Institutes the jubilee, 489.
- , marquis of Montferrat, is chosen general of the fourth crusade to the Holy Land, v. 135. Is made king of Macedonia, 167. Is killed by the Bulgarians, 176.
- Bosphorus, revolutions of that kingdom, i. 323. Is seized by the Goths, 324. The Strait of, described, ii. 13.
- Bosra, siege of, by the Saracens, iv. 419.
- Botheric, the imperial general in Thessalonica, murdered in a sedition, ii. 576.
- Boudicault, Marshal, defends Constantinople against Bajazet, v. 297.
- Boulogne recovered from Carausius by Constantius Chlorus, i. 422. Sold by Godfrey to the church for 1300 marks, iv. 32.
- Bowides, the Persian dynasty of, v. 642.
- Brancalcione, senator of Rome, his character, v. 474.
- Brass and silver, relative value of, i. 52, *note M.*

- Bretagne, the province of, in France, settled by Britons, *note*, iii. 353, 354, *note* M.
- Britain, reflections on the conquest of, by the Romans, i. 46. Description of, 83. Colonies planted in, 82, *note*. A colony of Vandals settled there by Probus, 305. Revolt of Carausius, 420. How first peopled, ii. 443, 444. Invasions of, by the Scots and Picts, 448, *note* M. Is restored to peace by Theodosius, 440. Revolt of Maximus there, 541. Revolt of the troops there against Honorius, 877. Is abandoned by the Romans, iii. 78. State of, until the arrival of the Saxons, 79, *note*. Descent of the Saxons on, 350. Establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy, 351. Wars in, 352. Saxon devastation of the country, 355. Manners of the independent Britons, 359. Description of, by Procopius, 361. Conversion of the Britons by a mission from Pope Gregory the Great, iv. 46. The doctrine of the incarnation received there, iv. 151.
- Brutus, Marcus, example given by, i. 122. Question as to its virtue, 122, *note* M.
- Brutus the Trojan, his colonization of Britain now given up by intelligent historians, ii. 444, *note*.
- Buffon, M., his extraordinary burning mirrors, iii. 448, *note*.
- Bulgarians, their character, iii. 550, 551; *vide note* M. Their inroads on the Eastern empire, 553. Invasion of, under Zabergan, 630. Repulsed by Belisarius, 632. Kingdom of the, destroyed by Basil II., the Greek emperor, iv. 220, 616. Revolt of, from the Greek empire, and submission to the pope of Rome, v. 126. War with the Greeks under Calo-John, 172.
- Bull-feast in the Coliseum at Rome described, v. 558.
- Burgundians, origin and language of the, i. 301, *notes* G. and M. Their settlement on the Rhine, and maxims of government, ii. 430. Their settlement in Gaul, iii. 76. Limits of the kingdom of, under Gundobald, 314. Are subdued by the Franks, 317.
- Burnet, character of his "Sacred Theory of the Earth," i. 536, *note*.
- Burrampooter, source of that river, v. 808, *note*.
- Busir, in Egypt, four several places known under this name, iv. 511, *note*.
- Buzurg, the philosophical preceptor of Hormouz, king of Persia, his high reputation, iv. 54, *note*.
- Byron, Lord, proved that swimming across the Hellespont was not a poetic fiction, ii. 16, *note* M.
- Byzantine historians, list and character of, v. 454, *note*; 455, *note* M.
- Byzantium, siege of, by the emperor Severus, i. 173. Is taken by Maximin, 490. Siege of, by Constantine the Great, 503. Its situation described, ii. 13. By whom founded, 13, *note*. See Constantinople.

C.

- CAABA, or temple of Mecca, described, iv. 331. The idols in, destroyed by Mahomet, 370.
- Cabades, king of Persia, besieges and takes Amida, iii. 463. Seizes the Straits of Caucasus, 465. Vicissitudes of his reign, 504.
- Cadesia, battle of, between the Saracens and the Persians, iv. 407.
- Cadijah, her marriage with Mahomet, iv. 337. Is converted by him to his new religion, 354. Her death, 358. Mahomet's veneration for her memory, 382.
- Cæcilian, the peace of the church in Africa disturbed by him and his party ii. 203.
- Cælius, the authority of his account of the famous vision of Constantine the Great inquired into, ii. 173, *note*, and M. *note*, 172.
- Cælestian, senator of Carthage, his distress on the taking of that city by Gensario, iii. 138.

- Cæsar, Julius, his inducement to the conquest of Britain, i. 46. Degrades the senatorial dignity, 110, *note*. Assumes a place among the tutelary deities of Rome in his lifetime, 110. His address in appeasing a military sedition, 211, *note*. His prudent application of the coronary gold presented to him, ii. 69, *note G*.
- Cæsar and Augustus, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 121, *note W*. "Cæsars," the emperor Julian's philosophical fable of the, delineated, ii. 351.
- Cæsarea, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor, king of Persia, i. 333. Taken and sacked by Chosroes II., iv. 81.
- Cæsarea, in Syria, surrenders to the Saracens, iv. 441.
- Caf, great range of mountains in Asia, iii. 555.
- Cahina, queen of the Moors of Africa, her policy to drive the Arabs out of the country, iv. 468.
- Cairoan, the city of, in the kingdom of Tunis, founded, iv. 466. Frequently confounded with the Greek city Cyrene, 466.
- Caïed deserts from the idolatrous Arabs to the party of Mahomet, iv. 369. His gallant conduct at the battle of Muta, 374. His victories under the caliph Abubeker, 406. Attends the Saracen army on the Syrian expedition, 418. His valor at the siege of Damascus, 420. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Azzadin, 423. His cruel treatment of the refugees from Damascus, 427. Joins in plundering the fair of Abyla, 430. Commands the Saracens at the battle of Yermuk, 434. His death, 443; *vide note M*.
- Caledonia and its ancient inhabitants described, ii. 444.
- Caledonian war, under the emperor Severus, an account of, i. 182.
- Caliphs of the Saracens, character of, iv. 402. Their rapid conquests, 404. Extent and power of, 400. Triple division of the office, 512. Their patronage of learning, 516. Decline and fall of their empire, 536, v. 271.
- Callinicum, the punishment of a religious sedition in that city opposed by St. Ambrose, ii. 578.
- Callinicus of Heliopolis, assists in defending Constantinople against the Saracens, by his chemical inflammable compositions, v. 500, 501, *note M*.
- Calmuks, Black, recent emigration of, from the confines of Russia to those of China, ii. 493. Country of the, iii. 556.
- Calo-John, the Bulgarian chief, his war with Baldwin, the Latin emperor of the Greeks, v. 172. Defeats, and takes him prisoner, 173. His savage character, and death, 176, 177, *note M*. 451.
- Calocerus, a camel-driver, excites an insurrection in the island of Cyprus, ii. 63, *note*.
- Calphurnius, the machinery of his eclogue on the accession of the emperor Carus, i. 401.
- Calvin, the reformer, iv. 606. His doctrine of the eucharist, 607. Examination of his conduct to Servetus, 608, 609; *vide note G*.
- Camel of Arabia, described, iv. 318.
- Camisards of Languedoc, their enthusiasm compared with that of the Circumcellions of Numidia, ii. 262.
- Campania, the province of, desolated by the ill policy of the Roman emperors, ii. 63. Description of the Lucullan villa in, iii. 259.
- Canada, the present climate and circumstances of, compared with those of ancient Germany, i. 275.
- Cannon, enormous one of the sultan Mahomet II. described, v. 419, 420, *note M*. Bursts, 428.
- Canoes, Russian, a description of, iv. 632.
- Cantacuzene, John, character of his Greek history, v. 236. His good fortune under the younger Andronicus, 242. Is driven to assume the purple, 244. His lively distinction between foreign and civil war, 246.

- His entry into Constantinople, and reign, 248. Abdicates and turns monk, 251. His war with the Genoese at Pera, 253. Marries his daughter to a Turk, 242. His negotiation with Pope Clement VI., 242.
- Cantemir's History of the Ottoman Empire, character of, v. 281, *note*; *vide note M.* 200.
- Capellianus, governor of Mauritania, defeats the younger Gordian and takes Carthage, i. 236.
- Capitation-tax, under the Roman emperors, an account of, ii. 63.
- Capito, Ateius, the civilian, his character, iii. 688.
- Capitol of Rome, burning and restoration of, i. 606, 606.
- Cappadocia, famous for its fine breed of horses, ii. 56.
- Capraria, isle of, character of the monks there, ii. 639.
- Captives, how treated by the Barbarians, iii. 152, 336.
- Caracalla, son of the emperor Severus, his fixed antipathy to his brother Geta, i. 181. Succeeds to the empire jointly with him, 184. Tendency of his edict to extend the privileges of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of his empire, 221. His view in this transaction, 221. Doubles the tax on legacies and inheritances, 221.
- Caracorum, the Tartar settlement of, described, v. 276.
- Caravans, Sogdian, their route to and from China for silk to supply the Roman empire, iii. 433.
- Carausius, his revolt in Britain, i. 419. Is acknowledged by Diocletian and his colleague, 421.
- Carbens, the Paulician, his revolt from the Greek emperor to the Saracens, iv. 600.
- Cardinals, the election of a pope vested in them, v. 483. Institution of the conclave, 484.
- Carduane, situation and history of that territory, i. 438, 439, *note M.*
- Carinus, the son of Carus, succeeds his father in the empire jointly with his brother Numerian, i. 403.
- Carismians, their invasion of Syria, v. 110, *note M.*
- Carlovingian race of kings, commencement of, in France, iv. 271.
- Carimath, the Arabian reformer, his character, iv. 637. His military exploits, 637.
- Carmelites, from whom they derive their pedigree, iii. 265, *note*.
- Carpathian Mountains, their situation, i. 273.
- Carthage taken by Capellianus, i. 235. The bishopric of, bought for Majorinus, 633, *note*. Religious discord generated there by the factions of Cæcilian and Donatus, ii. 203, 204. The temple of Venus there converted into a Christian church, 602. Is surprised by Genserik, king of the Vandals, iii. 136. The gates of, open to Belisarius, 488. Natural alterations produced by time in the situation of this city, 488, *note*. The walls of, repaired by Belisarius, 490. Insurrection of the Roman troops there, 595. Troubles and sedition, 598, 599, *note M.* Is reduced and pillaged by Hassan the Saracen, iv. 467. Subsequent history of, 468.
- Carthagena, an extraordinarily rich silver-mine worked there for the Romans, i. 215.
- Carus, emperor, his election and character, i. 400.
- Caspian and Iberian gates of Mount Caucasus distinguished, iii. 484, 465, *note M.*
- Cassians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, iii. 669.
- Cassiodorus, his Gothic history, i. 300. His account of the infant state of the republic of Venice, iii. 197. His long and prosperous life, 302, *note*, and *note M.*
- Castriot, George. See Scanderbeg.
- Catalans, their service and war in the Greek empire, v. 226.
- Catholic church, the doctrines of, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, ii. 214. The authority of, extended to the minds of man-

- kind, 216. Faith of the Western or Latin church, 226. Is distracted by factions in the cause of Athanasius, 230. The doxology, how introduced and how perverted, 254. The revenue of, transferred to the heathen priests by Julian, 333. Edict of Theodosius for the establishment of the Catholic faith, 546. The progressive steps of idolatry in the, 613. Persecution of the Catholics in Africa, iii. 283. Pious frauds of the Catholic clergy, 205. How bewildered by the doctrine of the Incarnation, iv. 113. Union of the Greek and Latin churches, 150. Schism of the Greek church, v. 118.
- Cava, story of the Spanish lady, iv. 471; *vide note M.*
- Oedars of Libanus, iv. 165; *vide note M.*
- Celestine, Pope, espouses the party of Cyril against Nestorius, and pronounces the degradation of the latter from his episcopal dignity, iv. 123.
- Celtic language driven to the mountains by the Latin, i. 83, 84, *note*, and *note M.*
- Censor, the office of, revived under the emperor Decius, i. 310. But without effect, 311.
- Ceos, the manufacture of silk first introduced to Europe from that island, iii. 432.
- Cera, the principal queen of Attila, king of the Huns, her reception of Maximin, the Roman ambassador, iii. 164, *note M.*
- Cerintus, his opinion of the twofold nature of Jesus Christ, iv. 112. St. John's aversion to, 112, *note*, and *note M.*
- Ceylon, ancient names given to that island, and the imperfect knowledge of, by the Romans, ii. 352, *note*; 353, *note M.*
- Chaboras, river, a tributary of the Euphrates, ii. 304.
- Chalcedon, the injudicious situation of this city stigmatized by proverbial contempt, ii. 14. A tribunal erected there by the emperor Julian to try and punish the evil ministers of his predecessor, Constantius, 205. A stately church built there by Rufinus, the infamous minister of the emperor Theodosius, 624. Is taken by Ochoares II., king of Persia, iv. 82.
- Chalcondyles, the Greek historian of the fifteenth century, his description of Germany, France, and Britain, v. 340. His severe strictures on the domestic character of the English, 361.
- Chalons, battle of, between the Romans and Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 190.
- Chamavians reduced and generously treated by Julian, ii. 161, 162.
- Chancellor, the original and modern application of this word compared, i. 405, *note*.
- Characters, national, the distinction of, how formed, ii. 475.
- Chariots of the Romans described, iii. 22, *note*.
- Charlemagne conquers the kingdom of Lombardy, iv. 271. His reception at Rome, 274. Eludes fulfilling the promises of Pepin and himself to the Roman pontiff, 276. His coronation at Rome by the pope Leo III., 285. His reign and character, 276. Extent of his empire, 289. His neighbors and enemies, 293. His successors, 294. His negotiations and treaty with the Eastern empire, 297. State of his family and dominions in the tenth century, 582.
- Charles Martel. *See Martel.*
- the Fat, emperor of the Romans, iv. 295.
- of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily, v. 221. The Sicilian Vespers, 224. His character as a senator of Rome, 470.
- IV., emperor of Germany, his weakness and poverty, iv. 310. His public ostentation, 311. Contrast between him and Augustus, 312.
- V., emperor, parallel between him and Diocletian, i. 449; and between the sack of Rome by him and that by Alaric the Goth, iii. 55.
- Chastity, its high esteem among the ancient Germans, i. 287; and the primitive Christians, 547.
- Chemistry, the art of, from whom derived, iv. 521, *note M.*

- Chersonesus, Thracian, how fortified by the emperor Justinian, iii. 456, 457. This city confounded with Chersonesus Taurica, ii. 87.
- Chersonites, the, assist Constantine the Great against the Goths, ii. 87; *vide note M.* Are cruelly persecuted by the Greek emperor Justinian II., iv. 189.
- Chess, the object of the game of, by whom invented, iii. 570. Allusions to, iv. 524, 539.
- Childeric, king of France, deposed under papal sanction, iv. 272.
- Children, the exposing of, a prevailing vice of antiquity, iii. 685.
- , natural, how defined by the Roman laws, iii. 692; *vide note G.*
- China, how distinguished in ancient history, i. 431, *note.* Great numbers of children annually exposed there, 564, *note.* Its situation, ii. 484, 485, *note.* The high antiquity of, claimed by its historians, 485. The great wall of, when erected, 487, *note M.* Was twice conquered by the Northern tribes, 489. The Romans supplied with silk by the caravans from, iii. 434. Turkish invasions of, 558. Is conquered by the Moguls, v. 208, 275. Expulsion of the Moguls, 277.
- Chindomar, prince of the Allemanni, taken prisoner by Julian at the battle of Strasburgh, ii. 150.
- Chosroes, king of Armenia, assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor, king of Persia, i. 331.
- , son of Tiridates, king of Armenia, his character, ii. 95. History of his son Diran and of Shahpour, 96, *note M.*
- , I., king of Persia, protects the last surviving philosophers of Athens in his treaty with the emperor Justinian, iii. 471. Review of his history, 505; *vide note M.*; 507, *note M.* Seals a peace to Justinian, 571. His invasion of Syria, 573. His negotiations with Justinian, 580. His prosperity, 590. Battle of Melitene, iv. 53. His death, 54, *note M.*
- , II., king of Persia, is raised to the throne on the deposition of his father Hormuzd, iv. 58. Is reduced to implore the assistance of the emperor Maurice, 61. His restoration and policy, 62. His letters to Sorgius extant, 63, 64, *note M.* Conquers Syria, 80; Palestine, 81; Egypt and Asia Minor, 82. His reign and magnificence, 83. Rejects the Mahometan religion, 84. Imposes an ignominious peace on the emperor Heraclius, 87. His flight, deposition, and death, 100.
- Chozars, the horde of, sent by the Turks to the assistance of the emperor Heraclius, iv. 96. Authors who describe them, 96, *note M.*
- Christ, the festival of his birth, why fixed by the Romans at the winter solstice, ii. 281, *note.* Mahometan creed concerning, iv. 84.
- Christians, primitive, the various sects into which they branched out, i. 521. Ascribed the Pagan idolatry to the agency of demons, 524. Believed the end of the world to be near at hand, 532. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church, 538. Their faith stronger than in modern times, 542. Their superior virtue and austerity, 543. Repentance a virtue in high esteem among them, 544. Their notions of marriage and chastity, 547. They disclaim war and government, 549, 550, *notes G. and M.* Were active, however, in the internal government of their own society, 551. Bishops, 554. Synods, 555. Metropolitans and primates, 551. Bishop of Rome, 558. Church of Rome not founded by St. Peter, 558, *note M.* Their probable proportion to the Pagan subjects of the empire before the conversion of Constantine the Great, 578. Inquiry into their persecutions, 588. Why more odious to the governing powers than the Jews, 590. Their religious meetings suspected, 594. Are persecuted by Nero as the incendiaries of Rome, 601, 602, *notes M. and G.* Instructions of the emperor Trajan to Pliny the Younger for the regulation of his conduct towards them, 609. Remained exposed to

- popular resentment on public festivities, 611. Legal mode of proceeding against them, 612. The ardor with which they courted martyrdom, 616. When allowed to erect places for public worship, 620. Their persecution under Diocletian and his associates, 611. An edict of toleration for them published by Galerius just before his death, 603. Some considerations necessary to be attended to in reading the sufferings of the martyrs, 656. Edict of Milan published by Constantine the Great, ii. 163. Political recommendations of the Christian morality to Constantine, 164. Theory and practice of passive obedience, 165. Their loyalty and zeal, 168. The sacrament of baptism, how administered in early times, 180. Extraordinary propagation of Christianity after it obtained the imperial sanction, 182. Becomes the established religion of the Roman empire, 185. Spiritual and temporal powers distinguished, 186. Review of the episcopal order in the church, 187. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese, how divided, 193. Their legislative assemblies, 198. Edict of Constantine the Great against heretics, 201. Mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, 218. The doctrines of the Catholic church, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, 214, 217. General character of the Christian sects, 263. Christian schools prohibited by the emperor Julian, 334. They are removed from all offices of trust, 335. Are obliged to reinstate the Pagan temples, 336. Their imprudent and irregular zeal against idolatry, 348. Distinction of, into *vulgar* and *ascetic*, iii. 264. Conversion of the barbarous nations, 382.
- Christianity**, inquiry into the progress and establishment of, 507, 508, *note* M. Religion and character of the Jews, 510, 511, *notes* G. and M. The Jewish religion the basis of Christianity, 512. Is offered to all mankind, 514. The sects into which the Christians divided, 522. The theology of, reduced to a systematical form in the school of Alexandria, 574. Injudicious conduct of its early advocates, 582. Its persecutions, 583; *vide note*. First erection of churches, 629. The system of, found in Plato's doctrine of the *Logos*, 206; *notes* G. and M., 206-212. Salutary effects resulting from the conversion of the barbarous nations to, iii. 382. Its progress in the North of Europe, iv. 640.
- Chrysaphius** the eunuch engages Edeon to assassinate his king, Attila, iii. 169. Is put to death by the empress Pulcheria, 172. Causes of his execution, 172, *note* M. Assisted at the second council of Ephesus, iv. 181.
- Chrysocheir**, general of the revolted Paulicians, overruns and pillages Asia Minor, iv. 601. His death, 602.
- Chrysoloras**, Manuel, the Greek envoy, his character, v. 376. His administration of Rome and Constantinople, 385.
- Chrysopolis**, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, i. 505. Soutari or Chrysopolis, ii. 14.
- Chrysostom**, St., his account of the pompous luxury of the emperor Arcadius, iii. 84. Protects his fugitive patron the eunuch Eutropius, 95. History of his promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, 100. His character and administration, 100, 101. His persecution, 102. His death, 106. His relics removed to Constantinople, 107. His encomium on the monastic life, 260, *note*.
- Churches**, Christian, the first erection of, i. 629. Demolition of, under Diocletian, 642. Splendor of, under Constantine the Great, ii. 193. Seven, of Asia, the fate of, v. 283.
- Cibalis**, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, i. 494.
- Cicero**, system of his Republic, i. 75, *note* M. His view of the philosophical opinions as to the immortality of the soul, i. 528. His encomium on the study of the law, iii. 661.
- Cimmerian darkness**, the expression, whence derived, iii. 24, *note*.
- Circumcellions** of Africa, Donatist schismatics, history of their revolt, ii. 260.

- Their religious suicides, 262. Persecution of, by the emperor Honorius, iii. 130.
- Circumcision, a physical custom in *Æthiopia*, unconnected with religion, iv. 176.
- Circus, Roman, the four factions in, described, iii. 428. Constantinople and the Eastern empire distracted by these factions, 424.
- Cities in the Roman empire enumerated, i. 97. Commercial, of Italy, rise and government of, iv. 305.
- Citizens of Rome, motive of *Caracalla* for extending the privileges of, to all the free inhabitants of the empire, i. 221. Political tendency of, this grant, 222.
- City, the birth of a new one, how celebrated by the Romans, ii. 19; *vide note*.
- Civilians of Rome, origin of the profession, and the three periods in the history of, iii. 662, 663, *note W*.
- Civilis the Batavian, his successful revolt against the Romans, i. 293.
- Claudian the poet, and panegyrist of *Stilicho*, his works supply the deficiencies of history, ii. 629. Celebrates the murder of *Rufinus*, 634. His offices and wealth, 638. His indifference as to religion, 689, *note M*. His death and character, 689, 690. His character of the eunuch *Eutropius*, iii. 88.
- Claudius, emperor, chosen by the *Prætorian* guards, without the concurrence of the senate, i. 123.
- , emperor, successor to *Gallienus*, his character, and elevation to the throne, i. 347.
- Cloander, minister of the emperor *Commodus*, his history, i. 142.
- Clemons *Flavius* and his wife *Domitilla*, why distinguished as Christian martyrs, 607, *note M*.
- Clement III., pope, and the emperor *Henry III.* mutually confirm each other's sovereign characters, iv. 577.
- *V.*, Pope, transfers the holy see from Rome to *Avignon*, v. 487.
- Clergy, when first distinguished from the laity, i. 559; ii. 186. The ranks and numbers of, how multiplied, 190. Exempted from municipal offices and personal taxes, 190; *vide note G*. Their property, 191, 193. Their offences only cognizable by their own order, 194. *Valentinian's* edict to restrain the avarice of, 431.
- Clodion, the first of the *Merovingian* race of kings of the Franks in Gaul, his reign, iii. 182, *note M*.
- Clodius *Albinus*, governor of Britain, his steady fidelity during the revolutions at Rome, i. 161. Declares himself against *Julianus*, 162.
- Clotilda, niece of the king of Burgundy, is married to *Clovis*, king of the Franks, and converts her pagan husband, iii. 311. Exhorts her husband to the Gothic war, 313.
- Clovis, king of the Franks, his descent and reign, iii. 306.
- Cluverius, his account of the objects of adoration among the ancient Germans, 289, *note*; *note G*, 290.
- Cochineal, importance of the discovery of, in the art of dyeing, iii. 431, *note*.
- Code of Justinian, how formed, iii. 645. New edition of, 673.
- Codicils, how far admitted by the Roman law respecting testaments, iii. 667, 702.
- Cœnobites in monkish history described, iii. 278.
- Coinage, how regulated by the Roman emperors, v. 471, *note M*.
- of Arabia, iv. 496, *note M*.
- Colchos, the modern Mingrelia, described, iii. 578. Manners of the natives, 580. Revolt of, from the Romans to the Persians, and repentance, 584, 585. Colchian war in consequence, 587.
- Coliseum of the emperor *Titus*, observations on, i. 407; v. 556, *note M*. Exhibition of a bull-feast in, 558.
- Collyridian heretics, an account of, iv. 341.

- Colonies, Roman, how planted, i. 82.
- Colonna, history of the Roman family of, v. 403.
- Colossus of Rhodes, some account of, iv. 444.
- Columns of Hercules, their situation, i. 71.
- Comana, the rich temple of, suppressed and the revenues confiscated by the emperors of the East, ii. 56.
- Combat, judicial, origin of, in the Salic laws, iii. 330. The laws of, according to the assize of Jerusalem, v. 72. Apology for the practice of, v. 210, *note*.
- Comets, account of those which appeared in the reign of Justinian, iii. 637. Authors who record their return, *note* M., 639.
- Commentiolus, his disgraceful warfare against the Avars, iv. 69.
- Commodus, emperor, his education, character, and reign, i. 136. Epigram on, 145, *note* M. His death, 148, *note* W.
- Comneni, origin of the family of, iv. 223. Its extinction, v. 451.
- Conception, immaculate, of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of, from whence derived, iv. 344.
- Concubine, according to the Roman civil law, explained, iii. 692.
- Conflagration, general, ideas of the primitive Christians concerning, i. 536, *note*.
- Conquest, the vanity of, not so justifiable as the desire of spoil, ii. 447. Is rather achieved by art than personal valor, iii. 145.
- Conrad III., Emperor, engages in the second crusade, v. 78. His disastrous expedition, 82, *note* M.
- of Montferrat defends Tyre against Saladin, v. 99. Is assassinated, 103.
- Constance, treaty of, iv. 307.
- Constans, the third son of Constantine the Great, is sent to govern the western provinces of the empire, ii. 83. Division of the empire among him and his brothers on the death of their father, 93. Is invaded by his brother Constantine, 101. Is killed on the usurpation of Magnentius, 103. Espoused the cause of Athanasius against his brother Constantius, 240.
- II., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 184, 185, *note* M.
- Constantia, princess, granddaughter of Constantine the Great, is carried by her mother to the camp of the usurper Procopius, ii. 417. Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the Quadi, 467. Marries the emperor Gratian, 471, *note*.
- Constantina, daughter of Constantine the Great and widow of Hannibalianus, places the diadem on the head of the general Vetricio, ii. 104. Is married to Gallus, 118. Her character, 118. Dies, 121.
- , widow of the Eastern emperor Maurice, the cruel fate of, and her daughters, iv. 76.
- Constantine the Great, the several opinions as to the place of his birth, i. 461. His history, 462. He is saluted emperor by the British legions on the death of his father, 463. Marries Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, 469. Puts Maximian to death, 479. General review of his administration in Gaul, 476. Undertakes to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius, 470. Defeats Maxentius and enters Rome, 486. His alliance with Licinius, 490. Defeats Licinius, 494. Peace concluded with Licinius, 496. His laws, 497. Chastises the Goths, 500. Second civil war with Licinius, 501. Motives which induced him to make Byzantium the capital of his empire, ii. 11. Declares his determination to spring from divine command, 19. Despoils other cities of their ornaments to decorate his new capital, 22. Ceremony of dedicating his new city, 28. Form of civil and military administration established there, 29. Separates the civil from the military administration, 45. Corrupted military discipline, 46. His character, 71. Account of his family, 74. His jealousy of his son Crispus, 76. Mysterious deaths of Crispus and

Licinius, 78. His repentance and acts of atonement inquired into, 79. His sons and nephews, 81. Sends them to superintend the several provinces of the empire, 83. Assists the Samaritans and provokes the Goths, 83, 84. Reduces the Goths to peace, 86. His death, 89. His conversion to Christianity, attempt to ascertain the date of, 159. His Pagan superstition, 161. Protects the Christians of Gaul, 162. Publishes the edict of Milan, 163. Motives which recommended the Christians to his favor, 166. Exhorts his subjects to embrace the Christian profession, 168. His famous standard, the *Labarum*, described, 170, 171. His celebrated vision previous to his battle with Maxentius, 172. Story of the miraculous cross in the air, 175, 176, *note M*. His conversion accounted for from natural and probable causes, 176. Occasion of his conversion, 176, *note M*. His theological discourses, 179. His devotion and privileges, 179. The delay of his baptism accounted for, 180. Is commemorated as a saint by the Greeks, 182. His edict against heretics, 201. Favors the cause of Cœcilian against Donatus, 204. His sensible letter to the bishop of Alexandria, 227. How prevailed on to ratify the Nicene Creed, 228, 229. His levity in religion, 230. Granted a toleration to his Pagan subjects, 264. His reform of Pagan abuses, 264. Was associated with heathen deities after his death by a decree of the senate, 266. His discovery of the holy sepulchre, 326. Builds a magnificent church on the spot, 326. Publication of his fictitious donation to the bishops of Rome, *iv*. 277. Interdiction of marriage with strangers ascribed to him, 571. Exceptions, 572.

Constantine II., the son of Constantine the Great, is sent to preside over Gaul, *ii*. 83. Division of the empire among him and his brothers on the death of their father, 93. Invades his brother Constans, 101; and is killed, 102.

— III., emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 182.

— IV., Pogonatus, emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 185.

— V., Copronymus, emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 193. Singular and tragical history of his five sons, 195, *note M*. Revolt of Artavasdes, and troubles on account of image-worship, *iv*. 258. Abolishes the monkish order, 259.

— VI., emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 195.

— VII., Porphyrogenitus, emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 212. His cautions against revealing the secret of the Greek fire, 502. Account of his works, 549; their imperfections pointed out, 550. Account of the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, 567. Justifies the marriage of his son with the princess Bertha of France, 571.

— VIII., emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 215.

— IX., emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 220.

— X., Monomachus, emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 222.

— XI., Duca, emperor of Constantinople, *iv*. 224.

—, Palæologus, the last of the Greek emperors, his reign, *v*. 406. His death, 440. His obsequies, 447.

—, Sylvanus, founder of the Paulicians, *iv*. 597. His death, 598.

—, a private soldier in Britain, elected emperor for the sake of his name, *ii*. 677. He reduces Gaul and Spain, 678, *iii*. 65. His reduction and death, 66.

—, general under Belisarius in Italy, his death, *iii*. 531.

Constantinople, its situation described, with the motives which induced Constantine the Great to make this city the capital of his empire, *ii*. 12, 13. Its local advantages, 18. Its extent, 20. Progress of the work, 21. Principal edifices, 23. How furnished with inhabitants, 25. Privileges granted to it, 27. Its dedication, 28. Review of the new form of civil and military administration established there, 29. Is allotted to Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great, in the division of the

- empire, 91. Violent contests there between the rival bishops, Paul and Macedonius, 256. Bloody engagement between the Athanasians and Arians on the removal of the body of Constantine, 258. Triumphant entry of the emperor Julian, 280. The senate of, allowed the same powers and honors as that at Rome, 300. Arrival of Valens as emperor of the East, 414. Revolt of Procopius, 414. Continued the principal seat of the Arian heresy during the reigns of Constantius and Valens, 547. Is purged from Arianism by the emperor Theodosius, 551. Council of, 553. Is enriched by the bodies of saints and martyrs, 614. Insurrection against Gainas and his Arian Goths, iii. 97. Persecution of the archbishop, St. Chrysostom, 103. Popular tumults on his account, 104. Earthquake there, 104. The city and Eastern empire distracted by the factions of the Circus, 421. Foundation of the church of St. Sophia, 449. Other churches erected there by Justinian, 453. Triumph of Belisarius over the Vandals, 498. State of the armies under the emperor Maurice, iv. 70. The armies and city revolt against him, 72. Deliverance of the city from the Persians and Avars, 96. Religious war about the *Trisagion*, 140. Prospectus of the remaining history of the Eastern empire, 177. Summary review of the five dynasties of the Greek empire, 246. Tumults in the city to oppose the destruction of images, 258. Abolition of the monkish order by Constantine, 259. First siege of, by the Saracens, 492. Second siege by the Saracens, 497. Review of the provinces of the Greek empire in the tenth century, 549. Riches of the city of Constantinople, 560. The imperial palace of, 561. Officers of state, 565. Military character of the Greeks, 578. The name and character of Romans supported to the last, 586. Decline and revival of literature, 587. The city menaced by the Turks, 623. Account of the Varangians, 628. Naval expeditions of the Russians against the city, 632. Origin of the separation of the Greek and Latin churches, v. 118. Massacre of the Latins, 124. Invasion of the Greek empire, and conquest of the city by the crusaders, 140, 146. The city taken, and Isaac Angelus restored, 147. Part of the city burnt by the Latins, 160. Second siege of the city by the Latins, 152. Is pillaged, 155. Account of the statues destroyed, 159. Partition of the Greek empire by the French and Venetians, 163. The Greeks rise against their Latin conquerors, 172. The city retaken by the Greeks, 189; *note M.*, 190. The suburb of Galata assigned to the Genoese, 253. Hostilities between the Genoese and the emperor, 256. How the city escaped the Moguls, 278. Is besieged by the sultan Amurath II., 333. Is compared with Rome, 386. Is besieged by Mahomet II., sultan of the Turks, 422. Is stormed and taken, 438. Becomes the capital of the Turkish empire, 448.
- Constantius Chlorus, governor of Dalmatia, was intended to be adopted by the emperor Orlus in the room of his vicious son Carinus, i. 405. Is associated with Diocletian in his administration, 416. Assumes the title of Augustus on the abdication of Diocletian, 458. His death, 463. Granted a toleration to the Christians, 649.
- , the second son of Constantine the Great, ii. 81. His education, 82. Is sent to govern the eastern provinces of the empire, 83. Seizes Constantinople on the death of his father, 91. Conspires the death of his kinsmen, 91. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, 93. Restores Oshroes, king of Armenia, 96; *note M.* Battle of Singara with Sapor, king of Persia, 98. Rejects the offers of Magnentius and Vetranio, on the plea of a vision, 105. His oration to the Illyrian troops at the interview with Vetranio, 106. Defeats Magnentius at the battle of Mursa, 109. His councils governed by eunuchs, 115. Education of his cousins Gallus and Julian, 117. Disgrace and death of Gallus, 122, 123. Sends for Julian to court, 126. Invests him with the title of Cæsar, 127. Visits Rome, 129. Presents an obelisk to that city, 131,

- 132, *note M*. The Quadian and Sarmatian wars, 133. His Persian negotiation, 135. Mismanagement of affairs in the East, 142. Favors the Arians, 231. His religious character by Ammianus, the historian, 232. His restless endeavors to establish a uniformity of Christian doctrine, 233. Persecutes Athanasius, 234. Is intimidated by his brother Constans, and invites Athanasius back, 241. His severe treatment of those bishops who refused to concur in deposing Athanasius, 245. His scrupulous orthodoxy, 247. His cautious conduct in expelling Athanasius from Alexandria, 247. His strenuous efforts to seize his person, 249. Is constrained to restore Liberius, bishop of Rome, 256. Supports Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, and countenances his persecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 257. His conduct towards his Pagan subjects, 265. Envis the fame of Julian, 270, 271, *note M*. Recalls the legions from Gaul, 271. Negotiations between him and Julian, 279. His preparations to oppose Julian, 287. His death and character, 288, 289.
- Constantius, a general, relieves the British emperor Constantine when besieged in Arles, iii. 67. His character and victories, 67. His marriage with Placidia, and death, 121.
- , secretary to Attila, king of the Huns, his matrimonial negotiation at the court of Constantinople, iii. 159–189.
- Consul, the office of, explained, i. 115. Alterations this office underwent under the emperors, and when Constantinople became the seat of empire, ii. 32. The office of, suppressed by the emperor Justinian, iii. 472. Is now sunk to a commercial agent, v. 470.
- Contracts, the Roman laws respecting, iv. 704, *note W*.
- Copts of Egypt, brief history of, iv. 168; *vide note*.
- Corinth, reviving as a Roman colony, celebrates the Isthmian games, under the emperor Julian, ii. 301. The isthmus of, fortified by the emperor Justinian, iii. 456.
- Cornifolia, or Fadilla, manner of her death related, i. 187, *note M*.
- Cornwall, reduction of, by the Saxons, iii. 353.
- Coronary gold, nature of those offerings to the Roman emperors, ii. 89, *note G*.
- Corsica, island of, i. 71, *note M*.
- Corvinus, Matthias, king of Hungary, his character, v. 401.
- Cosmas Indicopleustes, account of his Christian topography, iii. 438, *note*; 157, *note*.
- Cosmo of Mediolis, his character, v. 382.
- Councils and synods, i. 555; of Antioch, ii. 239; Arles, 244; Basil, v. 366; Cæsarea, ii. 237; Carthage, iii. 291, 494; Chalcedon, iii. 108, iv. 133; Clermont, v. 17; Constance, v. 362, 365, 529; Constantinople, ii. 553, iv. 147, 150, 256, v. 121; Ephesus, iv. 124, 131; Ferrara, v. 362; Florence, v. 363; Frankfort, iv. 282; Lyons, iii. 315, v. 184, 219; Milan, ii. 244; Nice, ii. 220; Pisa, v. 355, 529; Placentia, v. 16; Rimini, ii. 226; Sardica, ii. 240, 245; Toledo, iii. 302, 347; Tyre, ii. 237, 244.
- Count, great difference between the ancient and modern application of this title, ii. 46. By whom first invented, 46. Of the sacred largesses, under Constantine the Great, his office, 55. Of the domestics in the Eastern empire, his office, 57.
- Coupele, Rock of, and the Cow's Mouth, or issue of the Ganges, v. 308; *vide note M*.
- Courtenay, history of the family of, v. 195.
- Crescentius, consul of Rome, his vicissitudes and disgraceful death, iv. 303. Medal of, 304, *note M*.
- Crete, the isle of, i. 71. Subdued by the Saracens, iv. 526. Is recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 544. Is purchased by the Venetians, v. 186.
- Crimes, how distinguished by the penal laws of the Romans, iii. 713.

- Crispus**, son of Constantine the Great, is declared Cæsar, i. 497. Distinguishes his valor against the Franks and Aloumanni, 499. Forces the passage of the Hellespont, and defeats the fleet of Licinius, 503. His character, ii. 75. His mysterious death, 78.
- , the patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, and contributes to depose him, iv. 77. Is obliged to turn monk, 79.
- Croatia**, account of the kingdom of, iv. 613.
- Cross**, the different sentiments entertained of this instrument of punishment by the Pagan and Christian Romans, ii. 170. The famous standard of, in the army of Constantine the Great, described, 171. His visions of, 172, *note M.*; 174. The holy sepulchre and cross of Christ discovered, 326, *note M.* The cross of Christ undiminished by distribution to pilgrims, 327. Calvary, question as to its having been a hill, 327, *note M.*
- Crown of thorns**, ii. 327. Its transfer from Constantinople to Paris, v. 185, 186.
- Crowns**, mural and obdional, the distinction between, ii. 374, *note.*
- Crusade**, the first resolved on at the council of Clermont, v. 18. Histories and documents relating to, 19, *note*, and *note M.* Inquiry into the justice of the holy war, 20. Examination into the private motives of the crusaders, 24. Departure of the crusaders, 27. Account of the chiefs, 32. Their march to Constantinople, 38. Review of their numbers, 46. They take Nice, 49. Battle of Dorylæum, 50. They take Antioch, 55. Their distresses, 55. Are rovided by the discovery of the Holy Lance, 57. Siege and conquest of Jerusalem, 62. Godfrey of Bouillon chosen king of Jerusalem, but prefers the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre, 66. The second crusade, 77. The crusaders ill-treated by the Greek emperors, 80. The third crusade, 100. Siege of Acre, 101. Fourth and fifth crusades, 107. Sixth crusade, 110. Seventh crusade, 113. Re- capitulation of the fourth crusade, 129. Treaty with the Venetians, 133. General consequences of the crusades, 191.
- Otesiphon**, the city of, plundered by the Romans, i. 264. Its situation described, ii. 375. Julian declines the siege of it, 379, *note M.* Is sacked by the Saracens, iv. 409.
- Cublai**, emperor of China, his character, v. 276.
- Cunimund**, his quarrel with Alboin the Lombard, iv. 17. Is slain in battle, 19. His skull used as a cup for wine, 23.
- Ourdistan**, the ancient territory of Carduene, visited, i. 438, 439, *note M.*
- Curopolata**, the, his office under the Greek emperors, iv. 566.
- Customs or duties imposed by Augustus**, i. 216, 217, *note W.*
- Cycle of Indictious**, i. 484, *note.* The origin of, traced, and how now employed, ii. 60, *note G.*
- Cyprian**, bishop of Carthage, his history and martyrdom, i. 616, 620.
- Cyprus**, the kingdom of, bestowed on the house of Lusignan by Richard I. of England, v. 126.
- Cyrene**, the coast of, i. 70, *note M.* The Greek colonies there finally exterminated by Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 82. Frequently confounded with Cairoan, an Arabian city, 466.
- Cyriades**, an obscure fugitive, is set up by Sapor, the Persian monarch, as emperor of Rome, i. 332.
- Cyril**, bishop of Jerusalem, his pompous relation of a miraculous appearance of a celestial cross, ii. 231. His ambiguous character, 329.
- , patriarch of Alexandria, his life and character, iv. 117. Condemns the heresy of Nestorius, 123. Procures the decision of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius, 125. His court intrigues, 128.
- Cyzicus**, the city of, escapes for a time destruction from the Goths, i. 326. Is at length ruined by them, 327. Is seized by the usurper Procopius, ii. 418.

D.

- DACTA**, conquest of, by the emperor Trajan, i. 48. Its situation, 66. Is overrun by the Goths, 305. Is resigned to them by Aurelian, 355.
- Dæmons**, supposed by the primitive Christians to be the authors, patrons, and objects of idolatry, i. 524.
- Daglatous**, general of the emperor Justinian, besieges Petra, iii. 585. Commands the Huns in Italy under Narses, 618.
- Daimbert**, archbishop of Pisa, installed patriarch of Jerusalem, v. 67, *note M.*
- Dalmatia** described, i. 65. Produce of a silver-mine there, 215, *note.*
- Dalmatius**, nephew of Constantine the Great, is created Cæsar, ii. 81. Is sent to govern the Gothic frontier, 83. Is cruelly destroyed by Constantius, 92.
- and **Butyches**, the monks, iv. 127.
- Damascus**, siege of, by the Sarracens, iv. 420. The city reduced both by storm and by treaty, 425. Remarks on Hughes's tragedy of this siege, 427, *note.* Taken and destroyed by Tamerlane, v. 313.
- Damasus**, bishop of Rome, edict of Valentinian addressed to him to restrain the crafty avarice of the Roman clergy, ii. 431. His sanguinary contest with Ursinus for the episcopal dignity, 433.
- Dames the Arab**, his gallant enterprise against the castle of Aleppo, iv. 439.
- Damietta**, siege of, v. 107. Taken by Louis IX. of France, 112.
- Damophilus**, archbishop of Constantinople, resigns his see rather than subscribe the Nicene creed, ii. 551.
- Dandolo**, Henry, doge of Venice, his character, v. 133. Is made despot of Romania, 160. Misapprehension respecting, 174, *note M.*
- Daniel**, first bishop of Winchester, his instructions to St. Boniface for the conversion of infidels, iii. 284.
- Danielis**, a Grecian nuncheon, her presents to the emperor Basil, iv. 558. Her visit to him at Constantinople, 563. Her testament, 564.
- Danube**, course of the river, and the provinces of, described, i. 64.
- Daphne**, the sacred grove and temple of, near Antioch, described, ii. 338. Is converted to Christian purposes by Gallus, and restored to the Pagans by Julian, 340. The temple burned, 340.
- Dara**, the fortification of, by Justinian, described, iii. 463, 464, *note M.* The demolition of, by the Persians, prevented by peace, 571. Is taken by Ochosroes, king of Persia, iv. 52.
- Darius**, his scheme for connecting the continents of Europe and Asia, ii. 14.
- Darkness**, preternatural, at the time of the Passion, is unnoticed by the heathen philosophers and historians, i. 533.
- Dastagerd**, the Persian, royal seat of, plundered by the emperor Heraclius, iv. 100, *note M.*
- Datianus**, governor of Spain, yields ready obedience to the imperial edicts against the Christians, i. 649.
- Datius**, bishop of Milan, instigates the revolt of the Ligurians to Justinian, iii. 528. Escapes to Constantinople on the taking of Milan by the Burgundians, 532.
- Debtors**, insolvent, cruel punishment of, by the law of the Twelve Tables, iii. 709.
- Decemvirs**, review of their Twelve Tables of the Roman Laws, iii. 649, *notes M. and W.* These laws superseded by the Perpetual Edict, 656, 657, *note W.* Severity of these laws, 708.
- Decius**, his exaltation to the empire, i. 299. His defeat by the Goths, and death in battle, 311.
- Decurions**, in the Roman empire, are severely treated by the imperial laws, ii. 61. Their office compulsory and ruinous, 61, *notes G. and M.*

- Deification of the Roman emperors, how this species of idolatry was introduced, i. 119. The Egyptians and Greeks practised it, 119, *note M.*
- Delators are encouraged by the emperor Commodus to gratify his hatred of the senate, i. 139. Are suppressed by Pertinax, 152.
- Delphi, the sacred ornaments of the temple of, removed to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, ii. 23, *note.*
- Democracy, a form of government unfavorable to freedom in a large state, i. 79.
- Demosthenes, governor of Cæsarea, his gallant defence against, and heroic escape from, Sapor, king of Persia, i. 333.
- Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, humanely succeeds the captives brought from Rome by Genseric, king of the Vandals, iii. 214.
- Derar the Sarcen, his character, iv. 422. The sister of, 434.
- Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, conquered by Charlemagne, iv. 271.
- Despot, nature of that title in the Greek empire, iv. 565.
- Despotism originates in superstition, i. 284, *note.*
- Diadem assumed by Diocletian, described, i. 446.
- Diamonds, the art of cutting them unknown to the ancients, i. 217, *note.*
- Didius Julianus purchases the imperial dignity at a public auction, i. 159.
- Dioreses of the Roman empire, their number and government, ii. 40.
- Diocletian, the manner of his military election to the empire, i. 411. His birth and character, 413. Takes Maximian for his colleague, 416. Associates, as Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, 416. His triumph in conjunction with Maximian, 440. Fixes his court at the city of Nicodemia, 442. His diadem and robes described, 445. Edict of, from an inscription found at Stratonicea by Col. Leake, 448, *note M.* Abdicates the empire, 449. Parallel between him and the emperor Charles V., 449. Passes his life in retirement at Salona, 451. His impartial behavior towards the Christians, 635. Causes that produced the persecution of the Christians under his reign, 637. Cruel edicts of, 647, *note G.*
- Dion Cassius, the historian, i. 140, *notes M. and G.* Screened from the fury of the soldiers by the emperor Alexander Severus, 210. His retirement, 210, *note W.*
- Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, his outrageous behavior at the second council of Ephesus, iv. 132. Is deposed by the council of Chalcedon, 135.
- Disabul, great khan of the Turks, his reception of the ambassadors of Justinian, iii. 562.
- Divorce, the liberty and abuse of, by the Roman laws, iii. 688. Limitations of, 689.
- Docetes, their peculiar tenets, ii. 212, 213, *notes G.;* iv. 110, 111. Derivation of their name, ii. 213, *note.*
- Dodona, oracle of Jove at, iii. 615, *note M.*
- Dominic, St. Lorientus, his fortitude in flagellation, v. 23.
- Dominus, when this epithet was applied to the Roman emperors, i. 444.
- Domitian emperor, oppresses the Jews, ii. 606. His treatment of his kinsman Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clemens, 607. Assassination of, 608.
- , the Oriental prefect, is sent by the emperor Constantius to reform the state of the East, then oppressed by Gallus, ii. 120. Is put to death there, 121.
- Donatus, his contest with Cæcilian for the see of Carthage, ii. 203. History of the schism of the Donatists, 204, 260. Persecution of the Donatists by the emperor Honorius, iii. 129. Genseric protects and enlists them, 130.

- Dorylæum, battle of, between Kilidge Arslan, son of Sultan Soliman, and the first crusaders, v. 50.
- Doxology, how introduced into the church service, and how perverted, ii. 250.
- Dramatic representations at Rome, character of, iii. 31.
- Dreams, the popular opinion of the preternatural origin of, favorable to that of Constantine previous to his battle with Maxentius, ii. 172-174, *notes M.*
- Dromedary, the, extraordinary speed of, i. 370, *note.*
- Dromones of the Greek empire described, iv. 576.
- Druids, their power in Gaul suppressed by the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, i. 77.
- Druses of Mount Libanus, a character of, iv. 725, *note.* Recent light thrown on their superstition, 725, *note M.*
- Duke, derivation of that title, and great change in the modern from the ancient application of it, ii. 46.
- Durazzo, siege of, by Robert Guiscard, iv. 689. Battle of, between him and the Greek emperor Alexius, 672.

E.

- EARTHQUAKE an extraordinary one over a great part of the Roman empire, iii. 152. At Constantinople, 152. Account of those that happened in the reign of Justinian, 330.
- East India, the Roman commercial intercourse with that region, i. 105, *note M.* Commodities of, taxed by Alexander Severus, 217.
- Ebionites, account of that sect, i. 518. A confutation of their errors, supposed, by the primitive fathers, to be a particular object in the writings of St. John the Evangelist, ii. 211. Their ideas of the person of Jesus Christ, iv. 108, *note M.*
- Ecclesiastes, the book of, why not likely to be the production of King Solomon, iii. 498, *note.* Attempt to determine its date, 498, *note M.*
- Ecclesiastical and civil powers distinguished by the fathers of the Christian church, ii. 185.
- Ecdicius, son of the emperor Avitus, his gallant conduct, iii. 246.
- Ecthosis of the emperor Honorius, iv. 149.
- Edda, the, at length accessible to scholars, i. 302, *note M.* Of Iceland, the system of mythology in the, 302.
- Edeson is sent from Attila, king of the Huns, as his ambassador to the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 160. Engages in a proposal to assassinate Attila, 169. His son Odoacer the first Barbarian king of Italy, 256.
- Edessa, the purest dialect of the Syriac language spoken there, i. 265, *note.* The property of the Christians there confiscated by the emperor Julian for the disorderly conduct of the Arians, ii. 344. Account of the school of, iv. 154. History of the famous image there, 251. The city and principality of, seized by Baldwin the crusader, v. 52. Is retaken by Zenghi, 88. The counts of, 195.
- Edict of Milan published by Constantine the Great, ii. 163.
- Edicts of the prætors of Rome under the republic, their nature and tendency, iii. 654; *vide notes M. and W.* Perpetual Edict of Hadrian, 656, 657, *notes W. and M.*
- Edom, why that name was applied to the Roman empire by the Jews, i. 590, *note*; also *note M.*
- Edrisites, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 540.
- Edward I., of England, his crusade to the Holy Land, v. 115. His successes, and the story of his wound, 115, *notes M.*
- Egypt, general description of, i. 60. The superstitions of, what difficulty tol-

- orated at Rome, 78. Amount of its revenues, 214. Tumults and civil war in Alexandria, 342, *note* M. Public works executed there by Probus, 398. Conduct of Diocletian there, 426. Progress of Christianity there, 574. Edict of the emperor Valens to restrain the number of recluse monks there, ii. 430. The worship of Serapis, how introduced there, 603. His temple, and the Alexandrian library destroyed by the bishop Theophilus, 604. Origin of monkish institutions in, ii. 265. Great supplies of wheat furnished by, for the city of Constantinople in the time of Justinian, 430. Early civilization of, and antiquities, 430, *note* M. Ecclesiastical history of, iv. 168. Reduced by the Saracens, 446. Capture of Alexandria, 452. Administration of, 455. Description of, by Amrou, 457. The Egyptians take Jerusalem from the Turks, v. 60. Egypt conquered by the Turks, 89, 93. Government of the Mamelukes there, 114.
- Elagabalus is declared emperor by the troops at Emesa, i. 196. Was the first Roman who wore garments of pure silk, iii. 433.
- Elephants, inquiry into the number of, brought into the field by the ancient princes of the East, i. 267, *note*. With what view introduced in the Circus at Rome in the first Punic war, 407.
- Eleusinian mysteries, why tolerated by the emperor Valentinian, ii. 427.
- Elizabeth, queen of England, the political use she made of the national pulpits, ii. 198, *note*.
- Emigration of the ancient northern nations, the nature and motives of, examined, i. 283.
- Emperors of Rome, a review of their constitutions, iii. 657. Their legislative power, 658. Their rescripts, 660. Of Germany, their limited powers, iv. 307. Of Constantinople, their pomp and luxury, 561. Officers of the palace, state, and army, 564. Adoration of the emperor, mode of, 567. Their public appearance, 569. Their despotic power, 573. Their navy, 575. They retain the name of Romans to the last, 586.
- Empire, Roman, division of, into the East and West empires by Valentinian, ii. 413. Extinction of the Western empire, iii. 256.
- Encampment, Roman, described, i. 59.
- Ennodius, the servile flatterer of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth king of Italy, is made bishop of Pavia, iii. 384, *note*.
- Epagathus, leader of the mutinous pretorians who murdered their prefect Ulpian, punished by the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 209.
- Ephesus, the famous temple of Diana at, destroyed by the Goths, i. 329. Council of, iv. 124. Episcopal riots there, 126.
- Epicurus, his legacy to his philosophical disciples at Athens, iii. 468.
- Epirus, despots of, on the dismemberment of the Greek empire, v. 171.
- Equitius, master-general of the Illyrian frontier, is defeated by the Sarmatians, ii. 463.
- Erasmus, his merit as a reformer, iv. 609.
- Errors, some which occur in "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," detected by the Rev. H. H. Milman, M. Guizot, and M. Wrenk; *vide* Editor's Preface, vol. i. p. 9:
- Antoninus Pius, adoption of Marcus Aurelius by, explained, i. 128. W. Arabs, argument against the realization of their promised independence considered, iv. 51. M. Armenia, oversight respecting the Christianizing of, ii. 184. M. Baltic Sea, its gradual sinking refuted, i. 273, 274, *notes*. Artaxerxes unjustly described as a persecutor, i. 262. M. Bernard, St., anachronism respecting, v. 85. M. Caligula and Domitian, error as to their assassination, i. 124. W. Cassius, Avidius, *not* a Roman suicide, i. 129. W. and M. The Latin language was *not* established in Britain, i. 83. M. Charlemagne, charge respecting his daughters, a misinterpretation of Eginhard, iv. 287. M. Cherson, the inhabitants of, *not* the Tauric Chersonites, send aid to Constantine, ii. 87. M. Christians, early, did

not generally practice a community of goods, i. 560, M.; and were *not* strictly cenobitic, iii. 265, M.; whether equal justice was granted or denied them in civil causes at Rome? Gibbon's presumptions require proof, i. 643, G.; refutation of some uncandid remarks as to their morality and repentance, i. 543, M. Church, remark relative to the banner of the, refuted, i. 109, W. and M. Comitæ, the, did *not* in the reign of Tiberius cease to enact laws, iii. 654, 655, W. and M. Constantine *not* defeated in a first battle by the Goths, ii. 86, M. Crusades, instances of imperfect chronological arrangement of the, v. 85, M. Curtius, Quintus, error as to the age in which he lived, i. 246, G. and M. David, census of, recorded in Scripture, mistakes concerning, v. 68, M. Deification of the emperors, inaccuracy as to the, i. 119, G. and W.; an inaccuracy of M. Guizot also on this point, 119, M. Domitian assassinated by Stephen, the latter *not* connected with the religion of Domitilla, i. 608. Druses, religion of the, and life of the caliph Hakem, errors respecting, iv. 725, M. Idiots of the prætors, Heineccius misled Gibbon respecting the, iii. 654, W.; remarks on, iii. 655, M. Freedom of Rome granted for increase of taxes by Marcus Aurelius prior to Caracalla, i. 221, W. Galileans, refutation of a conjecture respecting them, i. 605, G. and M. Germanus, troops of, *not* from Germany, *as* erroneously stated, iii. 610-618. Lord Mahon and M. Gordian the younger, discrepancy as to his death and deification stated, i. 228, M. Gregory III., implored the aid of Charles Martel, *not* Gregory I., iv. 209, M. Honorius, doubt respecting his flying from Alario, ii. 657, M. Hellespont, error as to its breadth as compared with the Bosphorus, ii. 16, M. Jews professed an implacable hatred to the rest of human kind, i. 507, 508; this ancient sarcasm, supported by Juvenal's Satire, refuted by the spirit and letter of Scripture, 508, M. Indictions, imposts first prescribed by Diocletian, *not* Constantine, ii. 60, G. Joan, Pope, confutation of errors as to the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Marozia, iv. 301, M. Isis and Serapis, destruction of the temple of, two dates confounded, i. 78, W. and M. Land tax, and capitation, erroneous reference to Dion Cassius, i. 218, W. Liborius, mistake in his age, iii. 615, M. Liutprand, imperfect quotation from, iv. 586, M. Louis VII., engaged in a "glorious action" at the passage of the Meander, and *not* Conrad, v. 82, M.; he does *not* climb a tree, but by the aid of the tree and a rock gains vantage and security, v. 83, M. Mahometan invasion of Europe, Moslemah's, *not* the first, iv. 497, M. Martin V., and *not* Eugenius IV., v. 542. Martyrs, censure of Gibbon's incredulity and silence as to their numbers and sufferings, i. 660, G. and M., 659 M. Matthew, St., presumption relative to the first two chapters of, refuted, iv. 108, M. Maximin, ambassador to Attila, forbidden to pitch his tents on an eminence, and *not* in a valley, iii. 162, M. Military establishment of Rome, remarks thereon examined, i. 57, M. W. G. Mincius river flows *out* of Lake Benacus, *not* *into* it, iii. 200, M. "Naked draperies and transparent matrons," doubtless an erratum in the first edition, iii. 432, M. Nazarenes did *not* retire from the ruins of Jerusalem, but quitted before the siege, i. 517, M. Obligations, legal, Gibbon's division of, *not* good, iii. 704, W. Octavian family *not* of obscure origin, i. 120, M. Odin, erroneous theory respecting his conquests, i. 303, G. and M. Para and Tiridates, correction in the history of, ii. 461, *note*; *vide* M. Palestine, erroneous estimate of its fertility, i. 67, 68, G. M. Peter, St., strictly speaking, *not* the founder of the church of Rome, i. 558, M. Pharandsem, *not* Olympias, valiantly resists Sapor, ii. 457, M. Prætorian guards, dispute of the, confounded with the assassination of Ulpian, i. 209, W. Proconsuls, lictors attending, observation on, i. 114, W. Procopius, errors in quoting, iii. 583, M., 618, M. Property, inaccurate notions respecting the Roman system as to matters of, iv. 696, 697, W. Religion, statement as to the facility with which even hostile

nations embraced each other's, inquired into and disproved, i. 500. Saracens, Gibbon's ignorance as to the etymology of this name, noticed by Dr. Clarke, iv. 323, M. Scott, or Attacotti, *not* cannibals, ii. 448, M. Senate in the reign of Augustus, on the, i. 110, W. and M. Silver *not* the only medium of commerce, i. 105, M. Slaves of Rome, Gibbon's observations on criticised, i. 85, 86, M. (1.; vindication of Gibbon, 87, M.; the Roman system of described, 88, M., 90, M. Soldier, Roman, error respecting the frequency of their revolts, i. 124, W. Soliman, sultan, *not* slain in a bath, but in flight, v. 320, M. Soliman, sultan, victories in the first crusade attributed to him, instead of his son David, v. 30, 48. Tacitus, a passage of, misunderstood by Gibbon, iii. 652, M. Tiberius, *not* Augustus, first punishes the "*crimen lææ majestatis*," i. 133, W. Toleration, religious, *not* universal by the Romans, i. 78, W. Trebatius, a phrase of Cicero's regarding him misunderstood, iii. 666, W. Tribute *in kind*, *not* transported at the cost of the provincials, ii. 62, G. Vandals and Goths incorrectly designated as originally one and the same nation, i. 304, G. and M. *Vitrum*, translated *marble* instead of *glass*, iii. 402, M. Zoroaster, our historian in error in attributing a passage of the Sadler to, i. 260, M.

* Other erroneous assertions and arguments of Mr. Gibbon are referred to in the alphabetical order of this index, under the head of "notes."

Essenians, their distinguishing tenets and practices, i. 573.

Etruscans, their seat in Tuscany, i. 64, *note* M.

Eucharist, a knotty subject to the first reformers, iv. 607.

Endos, duke of Aquitain, repels the first Saracen invasion of France, iv. 504.

Implores the aid of Charles Martel, 506. Recovers his dukedom, 508.

Eudokia, her birth, character, and marriage with the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 118. Her disgrace and death, 115.

Eudoxia, her marriage with the emperor Arcadius, ii. 628. Stimulates him to give up his favorite Eutropius, iii. 95. Persecutes St. Chrysostom, 104. Her death and character, 107.

—, the daughter of Theodosius the Younger, is betrothed to the young emperor Valentinian III. of the West, iii. 124. Is married to the emperor Maximus, 211. Invites Genseric, king of the Vandals, to Italy, 212.

Eudoxus, bishop of Constantinople, baptizes the emperor Valens, ii. 428, *note* M.

Eugenius the rhetorician, is made emperor of the West by Arbogaster the Frank, ii. 684. Is defeated and killed by Theodosius, 688.

— IV., Pope, his contest with the council of Basil, v. 356. Procures a reunion of the Latin and Greek churches, 367. Forms a league against the Turks, 393. Revolt of the Roman citizens against him, 531.

Eugubine tables, the, dug up near Cortona, iii. 645, 649, *notes* by Gibbon and M.

Eumenius the orator, some account of, i. 456, *note*.

Eunapius the sophist, his character of monks, and of the objects of their worship, ii. 613. A fragment of his quoted, iii. 90, *note* M.

Eunomians, punishment of, by the edict of the emperor Theodosius against heretics, ii. 557.

Eunuchs enumerated in the list of Eastern commodities imported and taxed in the time of Alexander Severus, i. 217. They infest the palace of the third Gordian, 245. Their ascendancy in the court of Constantius, ii. 115. Why they favored the Arians, 231, *note*. A conspiracy of, to disappoint the schemes of Rufinus, and marry the emperor Arcadius to Eudoxia, 627. They distract the court of the emperor Honorius, iii. 41, and govern that of Arcadius, 86. Scheme of Chrysaphius to assassinate Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 169. The bishop of Sees and his whole chapter castrated, v. 462, *note*.

- Uario, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, his conquests in Spain, iii. 245. Is vested with all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps by Odoacer, king of Italy, 305.
- Europe, present population of, i. 91, *note*. Evidences that the climate of was much colder in ancient than in modern times, 274. This alteration accounted for, 275. Final division of, between the Western and Eastern empires, iii. 104. Is ravaged by Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 150. May be considered by the philosopher as one great republic, 367.
- Eusebia, empress, wife of Constantius, her steady friendship to Julian, ii. 124. Is accused of arts to deprive Julian of children, 128.
- Eusebius, his character of the followers of Artemon, i. 580. His own character, 657. His "History," 656, *note M*. His story of the miraculous appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine the Great, ii. 175.
- Eutropius the eunuch, great-chamberlain to the emperor Arcadius, conceals his marriage with Eudoxia in opposition to the views of Rufinus, ii. 627. Succeeds Rufinus in the emperor's confidence, 635. His character and administration, iii. 86. Provides for his own security, in a new law against treason, 91. Takes sanctuary with St. Chrysostom, 95. His death, 96.
- Eutycheus, his opinion on the subject of the incarnation supported by the second council at Ephesus, iv. 131. And adhered to by the Armenians, 166.
- Euxine Sea, description of the vessels used in navigating, i. 323. The Periplus, or circumnavigation of, by Arrian, iii. 577, *note*. That by Sallust, 577.
- Exaltation of the cross, origin of the annual festival of, iv. 104.
- Exarchs of Ravenna, the government of Italy settled in, and administered by, iv. 270; v. 33. The office described, 275.
- Exile duties imposed by Augustus, i. 214.
- Excommunication from Christian communion, the origin of, i. 564, ii. 204.
- Exile, voluntary, under accusation and conscious guilt, its advantages among the Romans, iii. 718.

F.

- FANLMS of Pilpay, various translations of, their character, iii. 570, *note M*. 570.
- Faith and its operations defined, i. 542.
- Falcandus, Hugo, character of his *Historia Sicula*, iv. 691, *note*. His lamentation on the transfer of the sovereignty of the island to the emperor Henry VI., 692.
- Fathers of the Christian church; cause of their austere morality, i. 544.
- Fausta, empress, wife of Constantine the Great, causes of her being put to death, ii. 79.
- Faustina, married to Marcus Antoninus, i. 128.
- , the widow of the emperor Constantius, countenances the revolt of Procopius against the emperor Valens, ii. 417.
- Felix is consecrated bishop of Rome, to supersede Liberius, who was exiled, ii. 255. He is violently expelled, and his adherents slaughtered, 256.
- , an African bishop, his martyrdom, i. 646.
- Ferdusi the Persian, his poem and translations, ii. 484, *note M*.
- Ferishta the, translations of, by Colonels Dow and Briggs, iv. 696, 698, *notes M*.
- Festivals, Pagan, great offence taken at, by the primitive Christians, i. 525, iii. 240. See Games.
- Feudal government, the rudiments of, to be found among the Scythians, ii. 483, 494, *note M*.
- Figures, numeral, their first public and familiar use, iv. 496, *notes M*.
- Finances of the Roman empire, when the seat of it was removed to Constantinople, reviewed, ii. 60.

- Fingal, his questionable history, whether to be connected with the invasion of Caladonia by the emperor Severus, i. 183.
- Fire, Greek, the Saracen fleet destroyed by, in the harbor of Constantinople, iv. 498. Is long preserved as a secret, 500. Its effects not to be compared with gunpowder, 577.
- Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, his revolt against the emperor Aurelian, i. 371.
- the Moor, his revolt against Valentinian, ii. 451. Suppressed by Theodosius, 452. Duration of this war, 453, *note M.*
- Flagellation, its efficacy in penance, and how proportioned, v. 23.
- Flamens, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, ii. 593.
- Flaminian way, its course described, iii. 619, *note.*
- Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, is killed at the second council of Ephesus, iv. 132.
- Fleeces, Golden, probable origin of the fable of, iii. 579.
- Flor, Roger de, a successful Arragonese admiral, v. 227, *note G.*; 228, 229, *note M.*
- Florence, the foundation of that city, ii. 669, *note.* Is besieged by Rada-, gaisus, and relieved by Stilicho, 669, 670.
- Florentius, prætorian præfect of Gaul under Constantius, his character, ii. 155, 272. Is condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon, but suffered to escape by Julian, 296.
- Florianus, brother of the emperor Tacitus, his eager usurpation of the imperial dignity, i. 387.
- Fornication, not clearly proved by the gospel authorities to be a sufficient plea for divorce, iii. 600, *note M.*; 601.
- France, modern, computation of the number of its inhabitants, and the average of their taxation, ii. 60, *note M.*
- , the name of, whence derived, iii. 337. Derivation of the French language, 343, *note.* Childeric deposed, and Pepin appointed king, by papal sanction, iv. 272. Reign and character of Charlemagne, 293. Invasion of, by the Saracens, 503.
- Frangipani, Cencio, his ferocious treatment of the persons of Pope Gelasius II. and his college of cardinals, v. 403. Derivation of his family name, 402.
- Franks, their origin and confederacy, i. 316. The nations composing it, 317, *note M.* They invade Gaul, and ravage Spain, 318. They pass over into Africa, 318. Bold and successful return of a colony of, from the sea of Pontus, by sea, 396. They overrun and establish themselves at Toxandria in Germany, ii. 144. Their fidelity to the Roman government, 674. Origin of the Merovingian race of their kings, 180. How converted to Christianity, 284. Reign of their king Clovis, 306. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 322, 323. Their laws, 326, *note M.* Their object rapine, not the occupation and division of conquered lands, 332. M. Sismondi's account of them, 333, *note M.* Give the name of *Frances* to their conquests in Gaul, 337. They degenerate into a state of anarchy, 344. They invade Italy, 532, 626. Their military character, iv. 583.
- Fravista the Goth, his character, and deadly quarrel with his countryman Prulif, ii. 537. His operations against Gainas, iii. 98.
- Frederic I., emperor of Germany, his tyranny in Italy, iv. 306. Von Raumer's History of the House of Swabia, 306, *note M.* Engages in the third crusade, v. 77. His disastrous expedition, 80, 83. Sacrifices Arnold of Brescia to the Pope, 468. His reply to the Roman ambassadors, 478.
- II. is driven out of Italy, iv. 307. His disputes with the Pope, and reluctant crusade, v. 108. Exhorts the European princes to unite in opposing the Tartars, 274.

- Frederic III., the last emperor crowned at Rome, v. 532.
 Freeman of Lacedonia, account of, iv. 550.
 Frithigern, the Gothic chief, extricates himself from the hands of Lupleinus, governor of Thracæ, ii. 505. Defeats him, 506. Battle of Salices, 509. His strength recruited by the accession of new tribes, 511. Negotiates with Valens, 515. Battle of Hadrianople, 518. The union of the Gothic tribes broken by his death, 530.
 Freedmen, among the Romans, their rank in society, iii. 681.
 Frumentius was the first Christian missionary in Abyssinia, ii. 184.
 Fulk of Neuilly, his ardor in preaching the fourth crusade, v. 129.

G.

- GABINUS, king of the Quadi, is treacherously murdered by Marcellinus, governor of Valeria, ii. 467.
 Gaian, his disciples at Alexandria, iv. 168.
 Gaillard, M., character of his *Histoire de Charlemagne*, iv. 286, *note*.
 Gainas the Goth, is commissioned by Stilicho to execute his revenge on Rufinus, præfect of the East, ii. 638. His conduct in the war against the revolter Tribigild, iii. 94. Joins him, 96. His flight and death, 99.
 Gaius, Institutes of, newly recovered, iii. 582, *note* M.
 Gals, probable derivation of the term, iv. 589, *note*.
 Galata, suburb of Constantinople, assigned to the Genoese, v. 253.
 Galerius is associated in the administration, as Cæsar, by the emperor Diocletian, i. 416. Is defeated by the Persians, 438. Surprises and overthrows Narses, 434. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 458. His jealousy of Constantine, 462. Deems it prudent to acknowledge him Cæsar, 464. His unsuccessful invasion of Italy, 468. Invests Licinius with the purple on the death of Severus, 472. His death, 475. From what causes he entertained an aversion to the Christians, 639. Obtains the countenance of Diocletian for persecuting them, 640. Publishes an edict of toleration just before his death, 653, *note* M.
 Gallians, twofold application of that name in the infancy of Christianity, i. 604. Conjecture as to Tacitus having confounded the two sects, 606. Refutation of the same, 606, *notes* G. and M. Why the emperor Julian applied this name to the Christians, ii. 333.
 Galloes of the Greek empire described, iv. 576.
 Gallienus, son of the emperor Valerian, is associated by him in the imperial throne, i. 316. Prohibits the senators from exercising military employments, 321. Character of his administration after the captivity of his father, 335. Names Claudius for his successor, 346. Favored the Christians, ii. 332.
 Gallus elected emperor on the minority of Hostilianus, the son of Decius, i. 312.
 —, nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, ii. 117, *note* G. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 118. His cruelty and imprudence, 118. His disgrace and death, 122, 123. Embraced the doctrine, but neglected the duties, of Christianity, 306. Converts the grove of Daphne, at Antioch, to a Christian burial-place, 340.
 Games, public, of the Romans, described, i. 248, iii. 31. Account of the factions of the Circus, 423. Of the hippodrome at Constantinople, 424.
 Ganges, source of that river, v. 308, *note* M.
 Gaudentius, the notary, condemned to death under Julian, ii. 207.
 Gaul, the province of, described, i. 82. The power of the Druids suppressed there by Tiberius and Clandius, 79. Cities in, 98. Amount of the tribute paid by this province to Rome, 214. Is defended against the Franks by Posthumus, 317, 318. Succession of usurpers there, 362. Invasion of,

- by the Lygians, 301. Revolt of the Bugaudæ suppressed by Maximian, 418. Progress of Christianity there, 575. Proportion of the capitation tax levied there by the Roman emperors, ii. 64. Is invaded by the Germans, 143. The government of, assigned to Julian, 144. His civil administration, 154. Is invaded by the Allemanni in the reign of Valentinian, 435. And of Gratian, 512. Destruction of idols and temples there by Martin, bishop of Tours, 601. Is overrun by the barbarous troops of Radagaisus after his defeat by Stilicho, 673. Is settled by the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, iii. 76. Assembly of the seven provinces in, 82. Reign of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, in, 177. Origin of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks in, 180. Invasion of, by Attila, king of the Huns, 185. Battle of Chalons, 190. Revolutions of, on the death of the emperor Majorian, 245. Conversion of, to Christianity by the Franks, 284, 311. Representation of the advantages it enjoyed under the Roman government, 304. Conquests and prosperity of Euric, king of the Visigoths, 305. Character and reign of Clovis, 306. The Allemanni conquered, 309. Submission of the Armoricans and the Roman troops, 313. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 323. History of the Salic laws, 326. The lands of, how claimed and divided by the Barbarian conquerors of, 332. Domain and benefices of the Merovingian princes, 333. Allodial and Salic lands, 334. Females not to inherit, 335, *note* M. Usurpations of the Seniors, 335. Privileges of the Romans in, 341.
- Gedrosia, revolutions of the sea-coast of, i. 263, *note*.
- Gelalman æra of the Turks when settled, iv. 717.
- Gelasius, pope, his zeal against the celebration of the feast of Lupercalia, iii. 240. Deplores the miserable decay of Italy, 262.
- II., his rough treatment by Cencio Frangipani, v. 463.
- Gelimor deposes Hildoric, the Vandal king of Africa, and usurps the government, iii. 475. Is defeated by Belisarius, 480. His final defeat, 492. His distressful flight, 495. Surrenders himself to Belisarius, 497. Graces his triumph, 498. His peaceful retirement, 499.
- General of the Roman army, his extensive power, i. 112.
- Generosity, Arabian, striking instances of, iv. 320.
- Gennadius the monk, his denunciation against a Greek union with the Latin Church, v. 425. His duplicity, 426, *note*.
- Genneric, the Roman general, under the emperor Honorius, his character, iii. 41.
- Genoese, their mercantile establishment in the suburb of Pera at Constantinople, v. 253. Their war with the emperor Constantine, 256.
- Genseric, king of the Vandals in Spain, his character, iii. 128. Goes over to Africa on the invitation of Count Boniface, 128. His successes there by the assistance of the Donatists, 129. Devastation of Africa by his troops, 131. Besieges Boniface in Hippo Regius, 133. His treacherous surprisal of Carthage, 136. Strengthens himself by an alliance with Attila, king of the Huns, 149. His brutal treatment of his son's wife, daughter of Theodoric, 180. Raises a naval force and invades Italy, 209. His sack of Rome, 213. Destroys the fleet of Majorian, 231. His naval depredations in Italy, 234. His claims on the Eastern empire, 235. Destroys the Roman fleet under Basiliscus, 243. Was an Arian and persecuted his Catholic subjects, 289.
- Gentleman, etymology of the term, v. 35, *note*.
- Geoponics of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, account of, iv. 550.
- George of Cappadocia supersedes Anastasius in the see of Alexandria, ii. 249. His scandalous history and tragical death, 342, 343, *note* M. Becomes the tutelar saint of England, 344, *vide note* M.
- Gepidæ, Ardaric, king of the, iii. 147. Their encroachments on the Eastern empire checked by the Lombards, 548. Are reduced by them, iv. 18.

- Gergovia, besieged by Julius Cæsar, iii. 337.
- Germanus, nephew of the emperor Justinian, his character and promotion to the command of the army sent to Italy, iii. 616. His death, 616.
- Germany, the rude institutions of, the basis of the original principles of European laws and manners, i. 271, 272, *note* M. Its ancient extent, 272. Climate of, 274, 275, *note* M., *note* G. How peopled, 276. The natives unacquainted with letters in the time of Tacitus, 278. Luden and Guizot's remarks on, 279, *note* M. Had no cities, 279. Manners of the ancient Germans, 281. Population, 283. State of liberty among them, 284. Authority of their magistrates, 286. Conjugal faith and chastity, 287. Their religion, 289. Their bards, 291, 292, *note* G. Collection of their national songs, 292, *note* M. Arms and discipline, 292, 293. Their feuds, 294. General idea of the German tribes, 296. Probus carries the Roman arms into Germany, 302. A frontier wall built by Probus from the Rhine to the Danube, 303. Invasions of Gaul by the Germans, ii. 143, 435. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, iv. 291. The imperial crown established in the name and nation of Germany by the first Otho, 296. Division of, among independent princes, 307. Formation of the Germanic constitution, 308. State assumed by the emperor, 311.
- Gerontius, Count, sets up Maximus as emperor in Spain, iii. 66. Beheads his friend and his wife at their own entreaties and commits suicide, 66.
- Geta and Caracalla, sons of the emperor Severus, their fixed antipathy to each other, i. 181.
- Ghebers of Persia, history of, iv. 485.
- Ghibellines and Guelphs, disputes of the, iv. 307; v. 402.
- Gibraltar, rock of, iii. 74. Derivation of the name of, iv. 473.
- Gildo the Moor, his revolt in Africa, ii. 636. His defeat and death, 641.
- Giraffe, the camoleopardalis, i. 146, *notes*.
- Gladiators, desperate enterprise and fate of a party of, reserved for the triumph of Probus, i. 398. The combats of, abolished by the emperor Honorius, ii. 663.
- Glycerius is made emperor of Rome, iii. 253. Exchanges the sceptre for the bishopric of Salona, 253. Murders Julius Nepos, and is made archbishop of Milan, 264.
- Gnostics, character and account of the sect of, i. 519, 520. Principal sects into which they are divided, 521, *note* M. Their peculiar tenets, 520, 521, *note*; also *note* M. 548; *notes* G., ii. 212, 213; *notes* G., iv. 110.
- Godfrey of Bouillon, his character and engagement in the first crusade, v. 32. His route to Constantinople, 38, 42. Rejects the title of king of Jerusalem, 66. Compiles the Assize of Jerusalem, 70. Form of his administration, 71, *et seq.*
- Gog and Magog, the famous rampart of, described, iii. 465, *note*. The Huns suspected to be the scriptural, iv. 616.
- Goisvintha, wife of Leovigild, king of Spain, her pious cruelty to the princess Ingundus, iii. 298.
- Gold of affliction, the tax so denominated in the Eastern empire, abolished by the emperor Anastasius, 438, 439, *note* M.
- Golden Horn, why the Bosphorus obtained this appellation in remote antiquity, ii. 14.
- Gordian, proconsul of Africa, his character and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 230. His son associates with him in the imperial dignity, 231. ———, the third and youngest, declared Cæsar, i. 237. Is declared emperor by the army on the murder of Maximus and Balbinus, 244, 245, *notes* G. and M. Philip orders his execution and succeeds him, 248. Certain discrepancies explained, 248, *note* M.
- Gothini, the, not to be confounded with Goths, i. 276, *note* M.
- Goths of Scandinavia, their origin, i. 300. Their religion, 301. The Goths

- and Vandals supposed to be originally one great people, 304. Improbability of this opinion, 304, *note* M. Their emigrations to Prussia and the Ukraine, 304, 305. They invade the Roman provinces, 307. They receive tribute from the Romans, 312. They subdue the Bosporus, 323. Plunder the cities of Bithynia, 326. They ravage Greece, 328. Conclude a treaty with the emperor Aurelian, 355. They invade Illyria, and are chastised by Constantine the Great, 500. Medal commemorative thereof, 500, *note* M. Their war with the Sarmatians, ii. 86. Are again routed by Constantine, 86, *note* M. Gothic war under the emperors, Valentinian and Valens, 468. Are defeated by the Huns, 498. They implore the protection of the emperor Valens, 499. They are received into the empire, 500. They are oppressed by the Roman governors of Thrace, 503. Are provoked to hostilities and defeat Lupicinus, 505, 506. They ravage Thrace, 506. Battle of Salices, 509, 510. They are strengthened by fresh swarms of their countrymen, 510. Battle of Hadrianople, 517. Scour the country from Hadrianople to Constantinople, 520. Massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia, 523. Their formidable union broken by the death of Frithigern, 530. Death and funeral of Athanaric, 532. Invasion and defeat of the Ostrogoths, 532, 533. Are settled in Thrace and Phrygia by Theodosius, 534. Their hostile sentiments, 536. Revolt of, in the reign of Honorius, 645. They ravage Greece, under the command of Alaric, 647. They invade Italy, 653. The sack of Rome by, iii. 48. Death of Alaric, 58. Victories of Wallia in Spain, 74. They are settled in Aquitain, 75. See Gaul and Theodoric. Conquests of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, 245. How the Goths were converted to the Christian religion, 282, 283, *note* M. Reign of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, 374, *note* M. The Goths in Italy extinguished, 628.
- Government, civil, the origin of, i. 284.
- Governors of provinces under the emperors; their great power and influence, ii. 44.
- Gratian was the first emperor who refused the pontifical robe, ii. 266, *note*. Marries the princess Constantia and succeeds to the empire, 471. Defeats the Alamanii in Gaul, 513. Invests Theodosius with the empire of the East, 524. His character and conduct, 538. His flight from Maximus, and death, 542, 543. Overthrow the ecclesiastical establishment of Paganism, 594, 598.
- Greece is ravaged by the Goths, i. 328. Is overrun by Alaric the Goth, ii. 647. Is reduced by the Turks, v. 450.
- Greek church, origin of the schism of, v. 118, 306, 387.
- empire. See Constantinople.
- Greeks, why averse to the Roman language and manners, i. 84. The Greek becomes a scientific language among the Romans, 85, *note* M. Character of the Greek language of Constantinople, v. 309. When first taught in Italy, 374.
- Greek learning, revival of, in Italy, v. 371.
- Gregory the Great, Pope, his pious presents to Recared, king of Spain, iii. 301. Exhorts Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith, 301. His enmity to the venerable buildings and learning of Rome, iv. 43. His birth and early profession, 44. His elevation to the pontificate, 45. Sends a mission to convert the Britons, 46. Sanctifies the usurpation of the emperor Phocas, 78.
- II., Pope, his epistles to Leo III., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 261. Revolts against the Greek emperor, 263.
- VII., Pope, his ambitious schemes, iv. 301. His contest with the emperor Henry III., iv. 676. Character of, 677, *note* M. His retreat to Salerno, v. 462.
- , præfect of Africa, history of him and his daughter, iv. 461.
- Nazianzen, his lamentation on the disgraceful discord among Chris-

- tlans, ii. 263. Loads the memory of the emperor Julian with invective, 301, *note*. Censures Constantius for having spared his life, 314, *note*. Is presented to the wretched sea of Basima by his friend Archbishop Basil, 519. His mission to Constantinople, 549. Is placed on the archiepiscopal throne by Theodosius, 551. His resignation and character, 554, 555.
- Grumbates, king of the Chionites, attends Sapor, king of Persia, in his invasion of Mesopotamia, ii. 137. Loses his son at the siege of Amida, 132. Returns home in grief, 141.
- Guardianship, how vested and exercised, according to the Roman civil laws, iii. 693.
- Gubazes, king of Colchos, his alliance with Chosroes, king of Persia, iii. 584. Returns to his former connection with the emperor Justinian, 585. Is treacherously killed, 588. Judicial inquiry respecting, 588, 589, *note M*.
- Guelphs and Ghibellines, the parties of, in Italy, iv. 307; vi. 426.
- Gullé, the degrees of, in the penal laws of the Romans, iii. 718.
- Guiscard, Robert, his birth and character, iv. 658. Acquires the dukedom of Apulia, 661. His Italian conquests, 662. Besieges Durazzo, 669. Defeats the Greek emperor Alexius there, 672, 673. Engages in the cause of Pope Gregory VII., 677. His second expedition to Greece, and death, 678, 680.
- Guizot, M., his French edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; *vide* preface by Mr. Milman, vol. i. p. 3-10. His valuable notes are given in the present edition of the history *passim*, and marked G.; *vide* preface, p. 17.
- Gundobald, king of the Burgundians, is reduced by Olovis, king of the Franks, iii. 310. His mode of justifying the judicial combat, 331.
- Gunpowder, the invention and use of, v. 337, 338, *note M*.
- Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, his character, v. 95. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Saladin, 96.
- Gyarus, a small island in the Aegean Sea, an instance of its poverty, i. 215.

H.

- HAURIAN, Emperor, raises a rampart of earth between Carlisle and Newcastle, i, 47, *note M*. Relinquishes the Eastern conquests of Trajan, 49. Their characters compared, 50. His character contrasted with that of Antoninus Pius, 50. His several adoptions of successors, 127. Founders the city of *Ælia Capitolina* on Mount Sion, 517. Reforms the laws of Rome in the Perpetual Edict, iii. 656, 657, *note W*.
- Hadrænaple, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, i. 502. Is ineffectually besieged by Fritigera the Goth, ii. 507. Battle of, between the emperor Valens and the Goths, 517.
- Hakem, caliph of the Saracens, assumes a divine character to supplant the Mahometan faith, iv. 725. Errors respecting, 726, 728, *note M*.
- Hamadanites, the Saracen dynasty of, in Mesopotamia, v. 541.
- Hannibal, review of the state of Rome when he besieged that city, iii. 14.
- Hannibaldianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, is dignified with the title of king, ii. 81, *note M*. Provinces assigned to him for a kingdom, 83. Is cruelly destroyed by Constantius, 92.
- Happiness, instance how little it depends on power and magnificence, iv. 515.
- Harmozan, Persian satrap, his interview with Omar, iv. 413.
- Harpies, an ancient mythologic history, Le Clerc's conjecture concerning, ii. 13, *note*.
- Harun el Rashid, Caliph, his friendly correspondence with the emperor Charlemagne, iv. 293. His wars with the Greek empire, 524.
- Hasan the Saracen conquers Carthage, iv. 467.
- Hawking, the art and sport of, iv. 87. Introduced into Italy by the Lombards, 38.

- Hogira, the mra of, how fixed, iv. 358.
- Heinichen, Excursus of, i. 582; ii. 174, *note M*; 176, *note M*; 228, *note M*.
- Helena, the mother of Constantine, her parentage ascertained, i. 461. Was converted to Christianity by her son, ii. 161, *note*.
- , sister of the emperor Constantius, married to Julian, ii. 126. Is reported to be deprived of children by the arts of the empress Eusebia, 128. Her death, 280.
- Heliopolis taken by the Saracens, iv. 432.
- Hell, according to Mahomet, described, iv. 352.
- Hellespont described, ii. 16.
- Helvetia, amount of its population in the time of Cæsar, i. 283, *note*.
- Hengist, his arrival in Britain with succors for Vortigern against the Caledonians, iii. 349. His establishment in Kent, 350.
- Henoticon of the emperor Zeno, character of, iv. 137, 138.
- Henry succeeds his brother Baldwin as emperor of Constantinople, v. 176. His character and administration, 176.
- III., Emperor, his contest with Pope Gregory VII., iv. 676. Takes Rome, and sets up Pope Clement III., 877.
- VI., Emperor, conquers and pillages the island of Sicily, iv. 693.
- the Fowler, emperor of Germany, iv. 290. Defeats the Turkish invaders, 624.
- Heptarchy, Saxon, establishment of, in Britain, iii. 361, *note M*. Review of the state of, 361.
- Heraclian, count of Africa, retains that province in obedience to Honorius, iii. 46. His cruel usage of the refugees from the sack of Rome by Alaric, 54. His revolt and death, 64, 65.
- Heraclonas, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 182, 183.
- Heraclius deposes the Eastern usurper Phocas, and is chosen emperor, iv. 78. Conquests of Chosroes II., king of Persia, 80. Distressful situation of Heraclius, 85. Accepts an ignominious peace from Chosroes, 87. His first expedition against the Persians, 89. His second Persian expedition, 93. Strengthens himself by an alliance with the Turks, 90. His third Persian expedition, 98. His treaty of peace with Persia, 103. His triumph and pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 103, 104; *vide note M*. His theological inquiries, 140. Marries his niece Martina, 182. Leaves his two sons joint successors to the empire, 182. Invasion of his provinces by the Saracens, 422. Flies from Syria, 440.
- the prefect, his expedition against the Vandals in Africa, iii. 2-1.
- the eunuch instigates the emperor Valentinian III. to the murder of the patrician Aëtius, iii. 204, *note M*. His death, 206.
- Herbelot, character of his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, v. 400, *note*.
- Hercynian forest, the extent of, unknown in the time of Cæsar, i. 275.
- Heresy in religion, the origin of, traced, i. 519. Edict of Constantine the Great against, ii. 201.
- Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, his conquests, ii. 495. His death, 497.
- Hermenegild, prince of Bætica, his marriage with Ingundis, princess of Austrasia, and conversion to the Nicene faith, iii. 298, 299. Revolt and martyrdom of, 299.
- Hermits of the East, their mortified course of life, iii. 278, 279. Miracles ascribed to them and their relics, 280.
- Hermodorus the Ephesian assists the Romans in compiling their twelve tables of laws, iii. 649. Inquiry relating to this fact, 649, *note W*.
- Hermogenes, master-general of the cavalry, is killed in the attempt to banish Paul, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 257.
- Hero and Leander, the story of, by whom controverted and defended, ii. 16, *note*. See also *notes M*.
- Herodes Atticus, his extraordinary fortune and munificence, i. 94.

- Herodian, his life of Alexander Severus, why preferable to that in the Augustan history, i. 212, *note*. On the Persian campaign, 212, *note* G.
- Herodotus, his character of the Persian worship, i. 257.
- Hernuli of Germany and Poland, their character, iii. 387. Their origin, 387, *note* M.
- Hilarion, the monk of Palestine, account of, iii. 267.
- Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, his remarkable observations on the diversity of Christian doctrines, ii. 223. His exposition of the term *Homoiousion*, 225.
- , Pope, censures the emperor Anthemius for his tolerating principles, iii. 239.
- Hilderic, the Vandal king of Africa, his indulgence to his Catholic subjects displeases both the Arians and Athanasians, iii. 475. Is deposed by Gellimer, 476. Is put to death, 487.
- Hindoos of the East not the disciples of Zoroaster, iv. 485, *note*.
- Hindustan, conquest of, by Tamerlane, v. 307, *note* M.
- Hippo Regius, siege of, by Genseric, king of the Vandals, iii. 133.
- History, the principal subjects of, i. 297, 597.
- Holy war, the justice of it inquired into, v. 20.
- Homicide, how commuted by the Salic laws, iii. 328.
- Homoiousion, origin and use of that term at the council of Nice, ii. 220. The distinction between it and *homoiousion*, 225.
- Honain, war of, iv. 371.
- Honoratus, archbishop of Milan, is, with his clergy, driven from his see by the Lombards, iv. 22.
- Honorin, sister of Valentinian III., her history, iii. 133.
- Honorius, son of Theodosius the Great, is declared emperor of the West by his dying father, ii. 589. Marries Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, 642. His character, 643. Flies from Milan on the invasion of Italy by Alaric, 657. His triumphant entry into Rome, 662. Abolishes the combats of gladiators, 663, *note* M. Fixes his residence at Ravenna, 664. Orders the death of Stilicho, 685. His impolitic measures and cruelty unite his Barbarian soldiers against him under Alaric, iii. 11, 12. His councils distracted by the eunuchs, 41. His abject overtures to Attalus and Alaric, 45. His last acts and death, 65. His triumph for the reduction of Spain by Walla the Goth, 75. Suspected of incest with his sister Placidia, 121. His persecution of the Donatists in Africa, 129.
- Honor, new ranks of, introduced in Constantinople, ii. 108; iv. 564.
- Hormisdas, a fugitive Persian prince in the court of the emperor Constantius, his remarks on the city of Rome, ii. 131, *note*. His history and station under Julian, 365.
- Hormouz, the son of Choaroes, king of Persia, his accession, iv. 54. His character, 54. Is deposed and at length killed, 59, 60, *note* M.
- Horses of Arabia, their peculiar qualities, iv. 318.
- Hosein, the son of Ali, his tragical death, iv. 393, 394.
- Hospitallers, knights of St. John of Jerusalem, popularity and character of the order of, v. 69.
- Hostilianus, the minor son of the emperor Decius, elected emperor under the guardianship of Gallus, i. 312.
- Hugh, king of Burgundy, his marriage with Marozia, and expulsion from Rome by Alberic, iv. 302.
- , count of Vermandois, engages in the first crusade, v. 33. Is shipwrecked, and made captive by the Greek emperor Alexis Comnenus, 40. His return, 57.
- Human nature, its natural propensities, i. 545.
- Hume, Mr., his natural history of religion the best commentary on the polytheism of the ancients, i. 74, *note*. The same topics treated of by M. Constant, 74, *note* M. His difficulty, as to the extent of the imperial

- palace at Rome, resolved, 184, *note*. Charges the most refined and philosophic sects with intolerance, 261, *note*; *vide note M*.
- Hungary, establishment of the Huns in, iii. 142. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, iv. 292. Terror excited by their first approach to Europe, 610. Their character, 610. Huniades rules during the minority of Ladislaus, v. 400.
- Huniades, John, his exploits against the Turks, v. 304, 395. His defence of Belgrade, and death, 401.
- Huneric, the son of Genseric, king of the Vandals, iii. 235. Persecutes his Catholic subjects, 289. His cruelty to the Catholics of Tipasa, 296.
- Huns, their original seat, and their conquests, ii. 486; *vide note M*. Their wars with the Chinese, 487, 488, *note M*. Their decline, 490. Their emigrations, 492. The White Huns of Sogdiana, 462. Huns of the Volga, 498, 499, *note M*. Conquer the Alani, 495, *note M*. Their victories over the Goths, 497. They drive other barbarous tribes before them upon the Roman provinces, 687. Their establishment in Hungary, iii. 142. Character of their king, Attila, 144. Their invasion of Persia, 149. The empire of, extinguished by the death of Attila, 202.
- Hunting of wild beasts, when a virtue, and when a vice, i. 145. Is the school of war, ii. 480.
- Hycsos, the, or Shepherd kings, conquerors of Egypt, iv. 326, *notes M*.
- Hypatia, the female philosopher, murdered in the church at Alexandria, iv. 119.
- Hypatius, sedition of, at Constantinople, iii. 428.
- Hyphasis, Alexander marches to this Indian stream, i. 73. The tributaries of the Indus or Sind, 78, *note M*.

I.

- IBERIAN and Caspian gates of Mount Caucasus distinguished, iii. 464, 465, *note M*. The Iberian gates occupied by Cubados, king of Persia, 465.
- Iconoclasm, sect of the, iv. 256; their synod, 256; their creed, 256; their persecution of monks and destruction of idolatrous images, 256, 259; *note M*. 258.
- Idatius, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, iii. 72.
- Idolatry ascribed to the agency of demons, by the primitive Christians, i. 524. Derivation of the term, and its successive applications, ii. 267, *note*.
- Igilium, the small island of, serves as a place of refuge for Romans who flew from the sack of Rome by Alaric, iii. 58.
- Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, the Christian fortitude displayed in his epistles, i. 622.
- Ikshidites, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 541.
- Illustrious, the title of, how limited in the times of Roman simplicity, and how extended when Constantinople became the seat of empire, ii. 31.
- Illyricum described, i. 65.
- Images, introduction of, in the Christian church, iv. 249. The worship of, derived from Paganism, 249. Are condemned by the council of Constantinople, 256. The adoration of, justified by Pope Gregory II., 261. And sanctified by the second council of Nice, 280.
- Imperator, in the Roman history, explained, i. 111, *note*. The imperial prerogatives, 116. The court, 118. The sense of this appellation altered by long use, 444.
- Incarnation, theological history of the doctrine of, iv. 106, 151.
- Incest, laws and customs of Egypt, Greece, and Rome relating to, iii. 691, *note M*.
- India, account of the Christians of St. Thomas in, iv. 159. Persecution of, by the Portuguese, 160.

- Indictions, the memorable era of, whence dated, i. 484, *note*. The name and use of, in the Middle Ages, whence derived, ii. 80. Established by Diocletian, not by Constantine, 80, *note* G.
- Indulgences in the Romish church, the nature of, explained, v. 23.
- Ingundis, princess of Austrasia, is married to Hermenegild, prince of Bætica, and cruelly treated by his mother, Goisvintha, iii. 298.
- Inheritance, paternal, subject to parental discretion among the Romans, i. 219. The Roman law of, 698. Testamentary dispositions of property, 700. The Voconian law, how evaded, 702.
- Injurious, review of the Roman laws for the redress of, iii. 706.
- Innocent III., Pope, enjoyed the plenitude of papal power, v. 106.
- Inquisition, the first erection of that tribunal, v. 107.
- Inquisitors, religious, first established by Theodosius the Great, ii. 557.
- Institutes of Justinian, an analysis of, iii. 680, *notes* W. and M.
- Interest of money, how regulated by the Roman law, iii. 706; *notes* by Gibbon, W. and M.
- Iona, one of the Hebrides, its ancient monastic eminence, iii. 289.
- Irene, her marriage with the Greek emperor Leo, iv. 196. Her ambition, and barbarity to her son Constantine, 197. Restores images to public devotion, 270.
- Ireland, the first instance of female falsehood and infidelity ever known in, i. 277, *note*. Was first colonized from Scotland, ii. 445. Controversy on this question, 446, *note*, and *note* M. Derivation of the name of its tutelary saint, Patrick, iii. 260, *note*.
- Isaac I., Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 229.
- II., Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 243. His character and reign, v. 126. Is deposed by his brother Alexius, 128. Is restored by the crusaders, 147. His death, 162.
- , archbishop of Armenia, his apology for the vices of King Artasires, iii. 119.
- Isauria, the rebellion there against the emperor Gallienus, i. 343.
- Isaurians, reduction of, by the Eastern emperors, iii. 458.
- Ishmael, on the prophecy of the independence of his posterity, iv. 51, *note*. The prediction referable to the roving Ishmaelites, Bedouins, and Arabs, who are still virtually unsubdued, 51, *note* M.
- Isidore, Cardinal, his ill-treatment in Russia, v. 389. Receives an act of union from the Greek clergy at Constantinople, 426.
- Isis and Serapis, temple of, destroyed, i. 78, *notes* W. and M.
- Isoerates, his price for the tuition of his pupils, iii. 468.
- Italy, privileges of the inhabitants of, i. 80. The dominion of, under Odoacer, succeeds the extinction of the Western empire, iii. 260. Its miserable state at that era, 262. State of agriculture in, 268, *note* M. Conversion of the Lombards of, to the Nicene faith, 301. Is reduced by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 382. His administration, 384, 385, *notes* M. Government of, according to the Roman law, by Theodoric, 390, 391, *note* M. Its flourishing state at this time, 395. How supplied with silk from China, 432. History of Amalasontha, queen of Italy, 506. Invasion of, by Belisarius, 512. Siege of Rome by the Goths, 517. Invasion of Italy by the Franks, 538. Revolt of the Goths, 645. Expedition of the eunuch Narses, 617. Invasion of, by the Franks and Allemanni, 625. Government of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 628. Conquests of Alboin, king of the Lombards, in, iv. 22. Distress of, 31. How divided between the Lombards and the exarchs of Ravenna, 33. Growth of the papal power in, 259. Revolt of, against the Greek emperors, 303. The exarchate of Ravenna granted to the pope, 275. Extent of the dominions of Charlemagne there, 291. The power of the German Cæsars destroyed by the rise of the commercial cities there, 305. Factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, 307. Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and

Greeks, in, 643. Revival of Greek learning in, v. 372. Authors consulted for the history of, 540, *note*.

J.

JAAFAR, a kinsman of Mahomet, slain in the battle of Muta, v. 373, *note M*.
Jacobites of the East, history of the sect of, iv. 161, 171.

James, St., his legendary exploits in Spain, i. 577.

Janizaries, first institution of these troops, v. 280, *note M*.

Jerome, St., abilities of, ii. 432. His extravagant representation of the devastation of Pannonia by the Goths, 521. His influence over the widow Paula, iii. 270.

Jerusalem, its situation, destruction, and profanation, ii. 325. Pilgrimages to, and curious relics preserved there, 326. Abortive attempt of the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple of, 328. Subterranean chambers beneath the temple of, serving as a refuge during the siege, 331, 332, *notes G and M*. A magnificent church erected there to the Virgin Mary by Justinian, iii. 458. The vessels of the temple of, brought from Africa to Constantinople by Belisarius, 498. Is conquered by Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 81. Insurrection of the monks there, 137. Is conquered by the Saracens, 436. Great resort of pilgrims to, 723. Conquest of, by the Turks, 728. Is taken from the Turks by the Egyptians, v. 60. Is taken by the crusaders, 65. Is erected into a kingdom under Godfrey of Bouillon, 66. Assize of, 70. Succession of its Christian princes, 95. Is conquered by Saladin, 98. Is pillaged by the Carizmians, 110.

—, New, described according to the ideas of the primitive Christians, i. 534.

Jesuits, Portuguese, persecute the Eastern Christians, iv. 160. Their labors in and expulsion from Abyssinia, 176, 176.

Jews, an obscure, unsocial, obstinate race of men, i. 510. Review of their history, 512. Their religion the basis of Christianity, 514. The promises of divine favor extended by Christianity to all mankind, 515. The immortality of the soul not inculcated in the law of Moses, 530. Reasons assigned for this omission, 530, *note M*. Why there are no Hebrew Gospels extant, 570; *vide notes G and M*. Provoked the persecutions of the Roman emperors, 588, 590, *notes G and M*. Toleration of their religion, 589. Those of a more liberal spirit adopted the theological system of Plato, 208, *notes G and M*. Their condition under the emperors Constantine and Constantius, 325. Miraculous conversion of a number of, at Minorca, 618, *note*. Persecution of, in Spain, iii. 302. Are persecuted by the Catholics in Italy, 390; iv. 104, *note M*. Their notions of a Messiah explained, 107, *note M*. Are persecuted by Cyril at Alexandria, 118. How plagued by the emperor Justinian, 144. Those in Arabia subdued by Mahomet, 367. Assist the Saracens in the reduction of Spain, 476. Massacres of, by the first crusaders, v. 28. Census of Israel and Judah by King David, 68, *note*. Explanation of this calculation, 68, *note M*.

Jezdegerd, king of Persia, is said to be left guardian to Theodosius the Younger by the emperor Arcadius, iii. 108. His war with Theodosius, 116. See Yezdegerd.

Joan, Pope, the story of, fictitious, iv. 300, *note*; 301, *note M*.

Job, age of the book of, iv. 346, *note M*.

John, principal secretary to the emperor Honorius, usurps the empire, iii. 122.

John the almsgiver, archbishop of Alexandria, relieves the Jewish refugees on Jerusalem being taken by the Persians, iv. 81. His extraordinary liberality of the church treasure, 169.

—, bishop of Antioch, arrives at Ephesus after the meeting of the coun-

- oil, and, with his bishops, decides against Cyril, iv. 125. Coalition between him and Cyril, 127.
- John of Apri, patriarch of Constantinople, his pride, and confederacy against John Cantuazano, v. 244.
- de Brienne, emperor of Constantinople, v. 182, 183, *note M*.
- of Cappadocia, prætorian præfect of the East under the emperor Justinian, his character, iii. 445, *note M*. Is disgraced by the empress Theodora, and becomes a bishop, 446, *note M*. Opposes the African war, 476. His fraud in supplying the army with bread, 483.
- Comnenus, or Calo-Johannes, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 231.
- Damascenus, St., his history, iv. 258, *note*.
- of Lycopolis, the hermit, his character, and oracular promise to the emperor Theodosius the Great, ii. 586.
- , the Monophysite bishop of Asia, is employed by the emperor Justinian to root out Pagans and heretics, iv. 144, *note*.
- XII., Pope, his flagitious character, iv. 301.
- XXIII., Pope, his profligate character, v. 520.
- , St., the Evangelist, reveals the true sense of Plato's doctrine of the Logos, ii. 209. Disquisition on his use of the word, 210, *note G*; 210, 211, *note M*.
- , Prestor, or Presbyter, romantic stories concerning, iv. 157.
- the Sanguinary seizes the Gothic treasures in Picenum, and obliges Vitiges to raise the siege of Rome, iii. 520.
- Zimisces murders the Greek emperor Nicephorus, and succeeds him, iv. 217. His Eastern victories, 545. Defeats Swatoslaus, czar of Russia, 637.
- Jonas, renegade of Damascus, story of, iv. 427.
- Jordan, character of his work, *De Originibus Sclaviciæ*, iv. 618, *note*.
- Joseph the Carizulian, governor of Berzom, kills the sultan Alp Arslan, iv. 714.
- Josephus, the mention of Jesus Christ in his history a forgery, i. 602, *note*. On this question *vide* 603, *note M*. His opinion that Plato derived knowledge from the Jews controverted, 206, *note*.
- the false, history by, i. 590, *notes M*.
- Jovian is elected emperor by the troops of Julian on their retreat from Assyria, ii. 301. His treaty with Sapor, king of Persia, 394. His death, 408.
- Jovians and Heronians, new bodies of guards instituted to supersede the prætorian bands, i. 443.
- Jovinian of Verona, his punishment by a Roman synod for heresy, ii. 654.
- Jovinus reduces the Allomanni, who had invaded Gaul, ii. 486. Account of his revolt against the emperor Honorius in Germany, iii. 69.
- Jovius, prætorian præfect under the emperor Honorius, succeeds Olympius as his confidential minister, iii. 41. His negotiations with Alaric obstructed, 42. Deserts Honorius and goes over to Alaric and the new emperor Attalus, 45.
- Jubilee, popish, a revival of the secular games, i. 248, 249, *note*; v. 480. The return of, accelerated, 490.
- Jude, St., examination of his grandsons before the tribunal of the procurator of Judæa, i. 606. They are set free, 607.
- Judgments of God, in the Salic laws, how determined, iii. 331.
- , popular, of the Romans, displayed, iii. 716.
- Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus, her character, i. 180. Her death, 195, *note G*.
- Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, ii. 117, *note G*. His dangerous situation on the death of his brother Callus, 123. Is sent to Athens, where he cultivates philosophy, 124. Is recalled by Constantius, 126. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 127. Is appointed to the

- government of Gaul, 144. His first campaign, 147. Battle of Strasburgh, 149. Reduces the Franks at Tournai, 154, *note M*. His three expeditions beyond the Rhine, 152. Restores the cities of Gaul, 154. His civil administration, 155. His account of the theological calamities of the empire under Constantius, 260. Constantius grows jealous of him, 269, *note M*. The Gaulish legions are ordered into the East, 271. Is saluted emperor by the troops, 274. His embassy and epistle to Constantius, 277. His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 278. Declares war against Constantius, and abjures the Christian religion, 281. His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, 282. Enters Sirmium, 285. Publishes apologies for his conduct, 286. His triumphant entry into Constantinople on the death of Constantius, 289. His private life and civil government, 290. His reformations in the imperial palace, 292. Becomes a sloven to avoid foppery, 294. Erects a tribunal for the trial of the evil ministers of Constantius, 295. Dismisses the spies and informers employed by his predecessor, 297. His love of freedom and the republic, 299. His kindnesses to the Grecian cities, 300. His abilities as an orator and as a judge, 301. His character, 303. His apostasy accounted for, 304, 305. Adopts the Pagan mythology, 307. His theological system, 310. His initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, and his fanaticism, 312. His hypocritical duplicity, 314. Writes a vindication of his apostasy, 315. His edict for a general toleration, 316. His Pagan superstitious zeal, 317. His circular letters for the reformation of the Pagan religion, 319. His industry in gaining proselytes, 323. His address to the Jews, 324. History of his attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, 328. Explanations as to the fire from the subterranean vaults having injured the workmen, 331, *note G*; 332, *notes M* and *G*. Transfers the revenues of the Christian church to the heathen priests, 333. Prohibits Christian schools, 334. Obliges the Christians to reinstate the Pagan temples, 336. Restores the sacred grove and temple of Daphne, 338, 339. Punishes the Christians of Antioch for burning that temple, 341. His treatment of the cities of Edessa and Alexandria, 344. Banishes Athanasius, 347. The philosophical fable of his *Cæsars* delineated, 351. Meditates the conquest of Persia, 353. Popular discontents during his residence at Antioch, 354. Occasion of writing his *Misopogon*, 357. His march to the Euphrates, 359. He enters the Persian territories, 365. Invades Assyria, 369. His personal conduct in this enterprise, 373. His address to his discontented troops, 374. His successful passage over the Tigris, 376. Burns his fleet, 381. His retreat and distress, 383. His death, 387, 388. His funeral, 402.
- Julian, Count, offers to betray Spain into the hands of the Arabs, *iv*. 470. His advice to the victorious Saracens, 475.
- , the papal legate, exhorts Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, to breach of faith with the Turks, *v*. 396. His death and character, 399, 400.
- Julius, master-general of the troops in the Eastern empire, conceals a general massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia, *ii*. 523.
- Jurisprudence, Roman, a review of, *iii*. 645. Was polished by Grecian philosophy, 666. Abuses of, 666, 667, *note W*.
- Justin the Elder, his military promotion, *iii*. 409, *note M*. His elevation to the empire, and character, 410. His death, 413.
- II., emperor, succeeds his uncle Justinian, *iv*. 13. His firm behavior to the ambassadors of the Avars, 15. His abdication and investiture of Tiberius as his successor, 26, 27. His death, 28.
- Martyr, his decision in the case of the Ebionites, *i*. 524, *note*. His extravagant account of the progress of Christianity, 577. Occasion of his own conversion, 579.

- Justina, the popular story of her marriage with the emperor Valentinian examined, ii. 470. Her infant son, Valentinian II., invested with the imperial ensigns on the death of his father, 471. Her contest with Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, 561. Flies from the invasion of Maximus with her son, 566.
- Justinian, emperor of the East, his birth and promotion, iii. 409. His orthodoxy, 412. Is invested with the diadem by his uncle Justin, 413. Marries Theodora, 419. Patronizes the Blue faction of the Circus, 424. State of agriculture and manufacture in his provinces, 430. Introduces the culture of the silk-worm and manufacture of silk into Greece, 437. State of his revenue, 439, 440, *note M.* His avarice and profusion, 441. Taxes and monopolies, 442. His ministers, 444. His public buildings, 447. Founde the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 449. His other public works, 453. His European fortifications, 454. His Asiatic fortifications, 459. He suppresses the schools of Athens, 466; and the consular dignity, 472. Purchases a peace from the Persians, 474. Undertakes to restore Hilderic, king of Carthage, 475. Reduction of Africa, 484, 493. His instructions for the government of, 494. His acquisitions in Spain, 504. His deceitful negotiations in Italy, 508. Weakness of his empire, 547. Receives an embassy from the Avars, 559; and from the Turks, 561. Persian war, 575. His negotiations with Chosroes, 589. His alliance with the Abyssinians, 591. Neglects the Italian war under Belisarius, 605. Settles the government of Italy under the exarch of Ravenna, 628. Disgrace and death of Belisarius, 633, 634. The emperor's death and character, 635. Comets and calamities in his reign, 637, *note M.* His Code, Pandects, and Institutes, 645. His theological character and government, iv. 141. His persecuting spirit, 143. His orthodoxy, 145. Died a heretic, 148.
- II., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 186.
- , the son of *Germannus*, his conspiracy with the empress Sophia, and success against the Persians, iv. 20.
- Jus Italicum, Savigny quoted respecting the, ii. 27, *note M.*
- Juvenal, his remarks on the crowded state of the inhabitants of Rome, iii. 33.

K.

- KAOTI, or Lioumpang, emperor of China, defeated by the Huns, ii. 438.
- Karasoo River, historical anecdotes relative to it, iv. 84, *note M.*
- Khan, import of this title in the northern parts of Asia, ii. 432, 666.
- Khazars. See Oghuzs.
- Khoosroo Purveez, his reign and magnificence, iv. 83. His palace of Dastargard, 84, *note M.* His contempt of Mahomet, 84, *note M.* See Chosroes.
- Kilidje Arslan, Sultan, destroys the advanced army of the first crusade near Nice in Asia Minor, v. 48, *note M.*
- King, the title of, conferred by Constantine the Great on his nephew Hanniballianus, ii. 81.
- Kindred, degrees of, according to the Roman civil law, iii. 698.
- Knighthood, how originally conferred, and its obligations, v. 36.
- Koran of Mahomet, account and character of, iv. 345.
- Koreish, the tribe of, acquire the custody of the Caaba at Mecca, iv. 331. Pedigree of Mahomet therefrom, 336. They oppose his pretensions to a prophetic character, 357. Escape of Mahomet from, 368. Battle of Beder, 364. Battle of Ohud, 365. Mecca surrendered to Mahomet, 369.

L.

- LABARUM, or standard of the cross, in the army of Constantine the Great, described, ii. 171.

- Labeo, the civilian, his diligence in business and composition, iii. 664.
His professional character, 668.
- Lactantius, predictions of, i. 535, *note* M. Difficulties in ascertaining the date of his divine institutions, ii. 159, *note*. His flattering prediction of the influence of Christianity among mankind, 165. Inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire, 167, *note*.
- Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, leads an army against the Turks, v. 395. His breach of faith with them, 396.
- , king of Naples, harasses Rome during the schism of the papacy, v. 527.
- Læstus, prætorian præfect, conspires the death of Commodus, and confers the empire on Pertinax, i. 148, 149, *note* W.
- Laity, when first distinguished from the clergy, i. 559.
- Lampadius, a Roman senator, boldly condemns the treaty with Alaric the Goth, ii. 683.
- Lance, Holy, narrative of the miraculous discovery of, v. 57.
- Land, how assessed by the Roman emperors, ii. 61, *note* M. How divided by the Barbarians, iii. 332, 333, *notes* M. Alodial and Salic, distinguished, 334, 335, *note* M. Of Italy, how partitioned by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 384, *note* M.
- Laodicea, its ancient splendor, i. 99.
- Lascaris, Theodore, establishes an empire at Nice, v. 170. His character, 203.
- , ——, II., his character, v. 205.
- , Janus, the Greek grammarian, v. 332. Constantine, 333, *note*.
- Latin church, occasion of its separation from the Greek church, v. 118. Corruption and schism of, 356. Reunion of, with the Greek church, 387. The subsequent Greek schism, 387.
- Latium, the right of, explained, i. 82, *note* M.
- Laura, a, or circle of solitary cells surrounding the monasteries of the East, iii. 279.
- Law, review of the profession of, under the emperors, ii. 43. Authorities for Roman law stated, 659, 660, *note* M. Succession of the civil lawyers, 662. Jurisconsults of the first period, 663, *note* W. Of the second period, Cicero, etc., 664. Their philosophy, 665. Institutes, 665, *note* W. Authority of, 666, 667, *note* W. Sects of Proculians and Sabinians, 668, 669, *note* W.
- Laws of Rome, review of, iii. 646, 661, 662, *note* M. Those of the kings, 647. Of the Twelve Tables, 649. Of the people, 653. Decrees of the senate and edicts of the prætors, 654. Constitutions of the emperors, 657, 658, *note* M. Their rescripts, 660, *note* M. The three codes of, 660. The forms of, 661, 662, *notes* W. and M. Reformation of, by Justinian, 670. Abolition and revival of the penal laws, 710, 712.
- Last, the tribe of, in Colchis, account of, iii. 583.
- Leake, Colonel, "Edict of Diocletian," by, i. 448, *note* M. Discovers the site of Dodona, iii. 615, *note* M.
- Learning, the revival of, v. 339. Of the Greek, in Italy, 372. Of pronunciation and accents, 379. Emulation of the Latins, 381. Under Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, 382. Classic literature, 383. Introduction of learning among the Arabians, iv. 516.
- Le Clerc, character of his Ecclesiastical History, iv. 106, *note*.
- Legacies and inheritances taxed by Augustus, i. 218. How regulated by the Roman law, iii. 700.
- Legion, in the Roman army under the emperors, described, i. 55, 60. Camp of a, 59. General distribution of the legions, 60. The size of, reduced by Constantine the Great, ii. 48.
- Leo of Thrace is made emperor of the East by his master Aspar, III. 236. Was the first Christian potentate who was crowned by a priest, 236, *note*. Confers the empire of the West on Anthemius, 237. His armament

- against the Vandals in Africa, 241. His alarm on its failure, 244, *note* M. Murders Aspar and his sons, 376.
- Leo III., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 192, 193, *note* M. His edicts against images in churches, 256. Revolt of Italy, 263.
- IV., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 194, *note* M.
- V., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 200.
- VI., the Philosopher, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 211. Extinguishes the power of the senate, 574.
- , bishop of Rome, his character, and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 200, *note* M. Intercedes with Genseric, king of the Vandals, for clemency to the city of Rome, 213, *note*. Calls the council of Chalcedon, iv. 133.
- III., Pope, his miraculous recovery from the assault of assassins, iv. 285. Crowns Charlemagne emperor of the Romans, 285.
- IV., Pope, his reign, iv. 531. Founds the Leonine city, 532.
- IX., Pope, his expedition against the Normans of Apulia, iv. 650. His treaty with them; 657.
- , archbishop of Thessalonica, one of the restorers of Greek learning, iv. 588.
- , general of the East under the emperor Arcadius, his character, iii. 94.
- Pilatus, first Greek professor at Florence and in the West, character of, v. 374.
- , the Jew proselyte, history of his family, v. 492.
- Leonas the quaestor, his embassy from Constantius to Julian, ii. 280.
- Leonino city at Rome founded, iv. 532.
- Leontius is taken from prison, and chosen emperor of Constantinople, on the deposition of Justinian II., iv. 187.
- Leovigild, Gothic king of Spain, his character, iii. 298. Revolt and execution of his son Hermanegild, 299.
- Letters, a knowledge of, the test of civilization in a people, i. 278.
- Lewis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, emperor of the Romans, iv. 294.
- II., son of Lewis the Pious, emperor of the Romans, iv. 295. His epistle to the Greek emperor, Basil I., 644.
- Libanius, his account of the private life of the emperor Julian, ii. 291, and of his divine visions, 313. Applauds the dissimulation of Julian, 314. His character, 358. His eulogium on the emperor Valens, 518.
- Liberius superseded in the Sicilian command by Artaban, iii. 615; *vide note* M.
- , bishop of Rome, is banished by the emperor Constantius for refusing to concur in deposing Athanasius, ii. 245, 255.
- Liberty, public, the only sure guardian of, against an aspiring prince, i. 109.
- Licinius is invested with the purple by the emperor Galerius, i. 472. His alliance with Constantine the Great, 489. Defeats Maximin, 490. His cruelty, 491. Is defeated by Constantine at Cibalis, 494. And at Mardia, 495. Peace concluded with Constantine, 496. Second civil war with Constantine, 501. His humiliation and death, 505. Concurred with Constantine in publishing the edict of Milan, ii. 163. Violated this engagement by oppressing the Christians, 167. Fate of his son, 78, *note*.
- Lieutenant, imperial, his office and rank, i. 113.
- Lightning, superstition of the Romans with reference to persons and places struck with, i. 404. On the knowledge of conducting it possessed by the ancients, iii. 37, *note* M.
- Limigantes, Sarmatian slaves, expel their masters and usurp possession of their country, ii. 88. Extinction of, by Constantius, 133.
- Literature, revival of, in Italy, v. 372. Ancient use and abuse of, 383.
- Lithuania, its late conversion to Christianity, iv. 641.
- Literius, Count, is defeated and taken captive in Gaul by Theodoric, iii. 179.

- Ilutprand, king of the Lombards, attacks the city of Rome, iv. 208.
 —, bishop of Cremona, ambassador to Constantinople, ceremony of his audience with the emperor, iv. 568.
 Logos, Plato's doctrine of, ii. 200, 207, 208, *notes* G. and M. Is expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 210, *note* G.; 211 M. Athanasius confesses himself unable to comprehend it, 214. Controversies on the eternity of, 217. See also iv. 115.
 Logothete, Great, his office under the Greek emperors, iv. 560.
 Lombardy, ancient, described, i. 84; iv. 22. Conquest of, by Charlemagne, 271.
 Lombards, derivation of their name and review of their history, iii. 648. Are employed by the emperor Justinian to check the Gepidae, 550. Actions of their king, Alboin, iv. 16. They reduce the Gepidae, 19. They overrun that part of Italy now called Lombardy, 22. Extent of their kingdom, 23, 35. Language and manners of the Lombards, 35. Government and laws, 39.
 Longinus, his representation of the degeneracy of his age, i. 108. Is put to death by Aurelian, 370.
 — is sent to supersede Narses as exarch of Ravenna, iv. 21. Receives Rosamond, the fugitive queen of the Lombards, 25.
 Lothaire I., emperor of the Romans, iv. 295.
 Louis VII. of France is rescued from the treachery of the Greeks by Roger, king of Sicily, iv. 685. Undertakes the second crusade, v. 77. His disastrous expedition, 78, *note* M.; 82, 83, *note* M.
 — IX. of France, his crusades to the Holy Land, v. 110, 113. His death, 113. Procured a valuable stock of relics from Constantinople, 180.
 Lucian, the severity of his satire against the heathen mythology accounted for, i. 76.
 —, count of the East under the emperor Arcadius, his cruel treatment by the prefect Rufinus, ii. 626.
 —, presbyter of Jerusalem, his miraculous discovery of the body of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, ii. 616.
 Lucilian, governor of Illyricum, is surprised and kindly treated by Julian, ii. 284. His death, 407.
 Lucilla, sister of the emperor Commodus, her attempt to get him assassinated, i. 138.
 Lucius II. and III., Popes, their disastrous reigns, v. 464.
 Lucrine lake described, with its late destruction, iii. 23, *note*.
 Lucullan villa in Campania, its description and history, iii. 259.
 Lupercalia, the feast of, described, and continued under the Christian emperors, iii. 240. By whom abolished, 240, 241.
 Lupicinus, ii. 418. Roman governor of Thrace oppresses the Gothic emigrants there, 503. Rashly provokes them to hostilities, 505. Is defeated by them, 506.
 Lustral contribution in the Roman empire explained, ii. 68.
 Luther, Martin, his character as a reformer, iv. 607.
 Luxury, the only means of correcting the unequal distribution of property, i. 104.
 Lygians, a formidable German nation, account of, i. 391; *vide note* M.
 Lyons, battle of, between the competitors Severus and Albinus, i. 171.

M.

- MACARIUS, patriarch of Antioch, his zeal, iv. 164.
 Macedonius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, his contest with his competitor, Paul, ii. 256. Fatal consequences on his removing the body of the emperor Constantine to the church of St. Asasius, 258. His cruel persecution of the Catholics and Novatians, 259. His exile, iv. 140.
 Maecianus, prætorian prefect under the emperor Valerian, his character, i. 332.

- Maorianus**, a prince of the Allemanni, his steady alliance with the emperor Valentinian, ii. 440.
- Maerinus**, his succession to the empire predisted by an African, i. 191. Accelerates the completion of the prophecy, 192. Purchases a peace with Parthia, 204.
- Madayn**, the capital of Persia, sacked by the Saracens, iv. 409.
- Maoonius** of Palmyra assassinates his uncle Odenathus, i. 365.
- Mavia**, its situation, i. 66.
- Magi**, the worship of, in Persia, reformed by Artaxerxes, i. 255. Abridgment of the Persian theology, 256. Simplicity of their worship, 257. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 258. Their power, 260. Their persecution of the Armenians, iv. 52, *note M*. Their intolerance, 88.
- Magie**, severe prosecution of persons for the crime of, at Rome and Antioch, ii. 419. Evil consequences thereof, 419, *note M*.
- Magnentius** assumes the empire in Gaul, ii. 103. Death of Constant, 103. Sends an embassy to Constantius, 105. Makes war against Constantius, 108. Is defeated at the battle of Mursa, 109. Kills himself, 113, *note*.
- Mahmud**, Sultan, the Gaznevide, his twelve expeditions into Hindostan, iv. 698. His character, 699.
- Mahomet** the prophet, his epistle to Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 84, *note M*. His genealogy, birth, and education, 336, *note M*. His person and character, 338. Assumes his prophetic mission, 340. Inculcated the unity of God, 340. His reverential mention of Jesus Christ, 343. His Koran, 345. His miracles, 347. His precepts, 349. His hell and paradise, 352. The best authorities for his history, 354, *note*. Converts his own family, 354. Preaches publicly at Mecca, 355, 356. Escapes from the Koraishtes there, 358. Is received as prince of Medina, 359. His regal dignity and sacerdotal office, 360. Declares war against Infidels, 361. Battle of Beder, 364. Battle of Uhud, 365. Subdues the Jews of Arabia, 367. Submission of Mecca to him, 369. Conquers Arabia, 370. His sickness and death, 375, 377. His character, 378. His private life, 380. His wives, 381. His children, 383. His posterity, 390. Remarks on the great spread and permanency of his religion, 393.
- , the son of Bajazet, his reign, v. 330, *note M*.
- II., sultan of the Turks, his character, v. 410. His reign, 412. Indications of his hostile intentions against the Greeks, 414. He besieges Constantinople, 422. Takes the city by storm, 440. His entry into the city, 445. Makes it his capital, 448. His death, 455.
- Mahometism**, by what means propagated, iv. 484. Toleration of Christianity under, 489.
- Majorian**, his history, character, and elevation to the Western empire, iii. 222. His epistle to the senate, 223. His salutary laws, 225. His preparations to invade Africa, 228. His fleet destroyed by Genseric, 231. His death, 231.
- Malaterra**, his character of the Normans, iv. 654.
- Malek Shah**, sultan of the Turks, his prosperous reign, iv. 715. Reforms the Eastern calendar, 717. His death, 718. State of the Turks after that event, v. 60.
- Mallius Theodorus**, the great civil honors to which he attained, ii. 43, *note*.
- Malta**, island of, i. 71, *note M*.
- Mamelukes**, their origin and character, v. 113. Their establishment in Egypt, 114.
- Mamea**, mother of the young emperor Alexander Severus, acts as regent of the empire, i. 203. Is put to death with him, 227. Her conference with Origen, 630.
- Mango**, an Armenian noble, his history, i. 430; *vide note M*.
- Man**, the only animal that can accommodate himself to all climates, i. 276, *note*.

- Mancipium**, in the Roman law, explained, iii. 695, *note*.
- Manichæans** are devoted to death by the edict of Theodosius against heretics, ii. 567.
- Manuel Comnenus**, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 232. He repulses the Normans, 686. But fails in his scheme of subduing the Western empire, 688. His ill-treatment of the crusaders, 371.
- Maogamalohn**, a city of Assyria, destroyed by the emperor Julian, ii. 371.
- Marble**, the four species esteemed by the Romans, i. 231, *note*.
- Marcellinus**, count of the sacred largesses under the emperor Constantine in Gaul, assists the usurpation of Magnentius, ii. 102. His embassy to Constantius, 105. Was killed in the battle of Mursa, 114.
- , his revolt in Dalmatia, and character, iii. 233. Joins the emperor Anthemius, and expels the Vandals from Sardinia, 241. His death, 244.
- , son of the præfect Maximin, his treacherous murder of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, ii. 467.
- Marcellus** the centurion, martyred for desertion, i. 630, 640, and *note* M.
- , bishop of Rome, exiled to restore peace to the city, i. 651.
- , bishop of Apamea in Syria, loses his life in destroying the Pagan temples, ii. 602.
- Marcia**, concubine of Commodus, a patroness of the Christians, i. 628.
- Marcian**, senator of Constantinople, marries the empress Pulcheria, and is acknowledged emperor, iii. 172. His temperate refusal of the demands of Attila the Hun, 173. His death, 236.
- Marcianopolis**, the city of, besieged by the Goths, i. 308.
- Marcomanni** are subdued and punished by Marcus Antoninus, i. 200. Were a Teutonic tribe, 206, *note* M. Alliance made with, by the emperor Gallienus, 321.
- Marcus** elected bishop of the Nazarenes, i. 518.
- Mardia**, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, i. 495.
- Margus**, battle of, between Diocletian and Carinus, i. 411.
- , bishop of, betrays his episcopal city into the hands of the Huns, iii. 150.
- Maria**, daughter of Eudæmon of Carthage, her remarkable adventures, iii. 138.
- Mariann**, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, iii. 72.
- Marius**, a subaltern officer, chosen emperor by the legions of Moesia, i. 208.
- Marius** the armorer, a candidate for the purple among the competitors against Gallienus, his character, i. 338.
- Mark**, bishop of Arethusa, is cruelly treated by the emperor Julian, ii. 337.
- Markland**, his severe criticism upon the *Æneid*, v. 379, *note*.
- Maronga**, engagement there between the emperor Julian and Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 335.
- Maronites** of the East, character and history of, iv. 164.
- Marozia**, a Roman prostitute, the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother of three popes, v. 301; *vide note* M.
- Marriage**, regulations of, by the Roman laws, iii. 686. Of Roman citizens with strangers proscribed by their jurisprudence, iv. 570.
- Martel**, Charles, duke of the Franks, his character, iv. 506. His politic conduct on the Saracen invasion of France, 506. Defeats the Saracens, 507. Why he was consigned over to hell flames by the clergy, 508.
- Martin**, bishop of Tours, destroys the idols and Pagan temples in Gaul, ii. 601. His monkish institutions there, iii. 268.
- Martini** marries her uncle, the emperor Heraclius, iv. 182. Endeavors to share the imperial dignity with her sons, 182. Her fate, 184.
- Martinianus** receives the title of Cæsar from the emperor Licinius, i. 504.
- Martyrs**, primitive, an inquiry into the true history of, i. 580, *note*. The several inducements to martyrdom, 619, 620, 621, *note* G.; 621, *note* M.

- Three methods of escaping it, 624, 625, *note* G. Marks by which learned Catholics distinguish the relics of the martyrs, 615, *note*. Number of martyrs, 659, 660, *note* M. Eusebius and Lucianus quoted on this point, 650, *notes* G and M. The worship of, and their relics, introduced, *ii*. 614.
- Mary, Virgin, her immaculate conception, borrowed by the Latin church from the Koran, *iv*. 344.
- Mascezel, the persecuted brother of Gildo the Moor, takes refuge in the imperial court of Honorius, *ii*. 639. Is intrusted with troops to reduce Gildo, 639. Defeats him, 641. His suspicious death, 642.
- Master of the offices under Constantine the Great, his functions, *ii*. 52.
- Maternus, his revolt and conspiracy against the emperor Commodus, *i*. 141.
- Matthew, St., his Gospel originally composed in Hebrew, *i*. 570, *note*; *iv*. 108, *note*. His Greek Gospel not unauthorized, 108, *note* M.
- Maurice, his birth, character, and promotion to the Eastern empire, *iv*. 30. Restores Chosroes II., king of Persia, 62. His war against the Avars, 68. State of his armies, 70. His abdication and cruel death, 73, 74.
- Mauritania, ancient, its situation and extent, *i*. 70. Character of the native Moors of, *iii*. 129.
- Maxentius, the son of Maximian, declared emperor at Rome, *i*. 467. His tyranny in Italy and Africa, 477. The military force he had to oppose Constantine, 480. His defeat and death, 480. His politic humanity to the Christians, 650. His real character, 660, *note* M.
- Maximian, associate in the empire with Diocletian, his character, *i*. 415. Triumphs with Diocletian, 440. Holds his court at Milan, 441. Abdicates the empire along with Diocletian, 461. He resumes the purple, 467. Reduces Severus, and puts him to death, 468. His second resignation and unfortunate end, 473. His aversion to the Christians accounted for, 639.
- Maximilianus the African, a Christian martyr, *i*. 639. Cause of his condemnation, 639, *note* M.
- Maximin, his birth, fortune, and elevation to the empire of Rome, *i*. 225. Why deemed a persecutor of the Christians, 630. Account of his persecutions, 631, *note* G.
- , nephew of Galerius, is declared Cæsar by Diocletian, *i*. 460. Obtains the rank of Augustus from Galerius, 472. His defeat and death, 490. Renewed the persecution of the Christians after the toleration granted by Galerius, 664.
- , the cruel minister of the emperor Valentinian, promoted to the præfecture of Gaul, *ii*. 423.
- , his embassy from Theodosius the Younger to Attila, king of the Huns, *iii*. 160, 162, *note* M.
- Maximus and Balbinus elected joint emperors by the senate on the deaths of the two Gordians, *i*. 236.
- , his character, and revolt in Britain, *ii*. 541. His treaty with the emperor Theodosius, 544. Persecutes the Priscillianists, 557. His invasion of Italy, 566. His defeat and death, 569, 570.
- , the Pagan preceptor of the emperor Julian, initiates him into the Eleusinian mysteries, *ii*. 312. Is honorably invited to Constantinople by his imperial pupil, 321. Is corrupted by his residence at court, 322.
- , Petronius, his wife ravished by Valentinian III., emperor of the West, *iii*. 206. His character and elevation to the empire, 210. His marriage with Eudoxia, 211. Is assassinated, 212.
- Mazdak, the archimagus, account of his tenets, *iii*. 564; *vide note* M.
- Mehodes, the Persian general, ungratefully treated by Chosroes, *iii*. 566.
- Mecca, its situation and description, *iv*. 319, 320; *vide note* M. The Caaba or temple, 331. Its deliverance from Abraham, 336. The doctrine of Mahomet opposed there, 356. His escape, 358. The city of, surrendered to Mahomet, 369. Is pillaged by Abu Taher, 538.

- Medinn, city of, iv. 319. Reception of Mahomet there on his flight from Mecca, 360.
- Megalesia, the festival of, at Rome described, i. 141, *note*.
- Melutians, an Egyptian sect, persecuted by Athanasius, ii. 237, *note*.
- Melitene, battle of, between the Eastern emperor Tiberius and Chosroes, king of Persia, iv. 53.
- Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, ii. 454, 513. Put to death, 543.
- Melo, citizen of Bari, invites the Normans into Italy, iv. 650; *note* M. 650.
- Memnon, secret of the sounds from the celebrated head of, discovered, ii. 605, *note* M.
- Momphis, its situation and reduction by the Saracens, iv. 447.
- Merab, city in which Belkis, queen of Saba, dwelt in the Sabæan land of odoriferous plants, i. 44, *note* M.
- Merovingian kings of the Franks in Gaul, origin of, iii. 180. Their domain and benefices, 333.
- Mervan, caliph of the Saracens, and the last of the house of Ommiyah, his defeat and death, iv. 511.
- Mesopotamia, invasion of, by the emperor Julian, ii. 367. Described by Xenophon, 368.
- Messala, Valerius, the first præfect of Rome, his high character, ii. 93, *note*.
- Messiah, under what character he was expected by the Jews, i. 570. His birthday, how fixed by the Romans, ii. 281, *note*.
- Metals and money, their operation in improving the human mind, i. 280.
- Motellus Numidicus the censor, his invective against women, i. 204, *note*.
- Motius Paleonius, his artful speech to the emperor Tacitus in the senate on his election, i. 388.
- Metrophanes of Ozyzius is made patriarch of Constantinople, v. 380.
- Mota, cruel treatment of, by Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 186.
- Michael I., Rhangabe, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 100.
- II., the Stammerer, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 201.
- III., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 205. Is defeated by the Paulicians, v. 601.
- IV., the Paphlagonian, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 221.
- V., Calaphates, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 222.
- VI., Stratioticus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 223.
- VII., Parapinaces, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 226.
- Milan, how the imperial court of the Western empire came to be transferred from Rome to that city, i. 441. Famous edict of Constantine the Great in favor of the Christians published there, ii. 163. St. Ambrose elected archbishop of that city, 560. Tumults occasioned by his refusing a church for the Arian worship of the empress Justin and her son, 561. Revolt of, to Justinian, iii. 528. Is taken and destroyed by the Burgundians, 582, 583. Is again destroyed by Frederic I., iv. 306.
- Military force, its strength and efficacy dependent on a due proportion to the number of the people, i. 156.
- Military officers of the Roman empire at the time of Constantine the Great, a review of, ii. 45.
- Millennium, the doctrine of, explained, i. 533.
- Minclus, the slow-winding river, iii. 200, *note* M.
- Mingrelia. See Colchis.
- Minority, two distinctions of, in the Roman law, ii. 631, *note*.
- Miracles, confined to the first century, i. 540, *note* M. Those of Christ and his apostles escaped the notice of the heathen philosophers and historians, 583. Account of those wrought by the body of St. Stephen, ii. 616.
- Miraculous powers of the primitive church, an inquiry into, i. 538, *note* M.
- Misithous, chief minister and father-in-law of the third Gordian, his character, i. 246.

- Misopogon of the emperor Julian, on what occasion written, ii. 357.
- Missorium, or great golden dish of Adolphus, king of the Visigoths, history of, iii. 62.
- Monawiyah assumes the title of caliph, and makes war against Ali, iv. 39J.
- His character and reign, 392. Lays siege to Constantinople, 492.
- Modar, prince of the Amall, seduced by the emperor Theodosius, turns his arms against his own countrymen, ii. 531.
- Moguls, of Tatar, or Tartar descent, ii. 475, *note M.* Primitive, their method of treating their conquered enemies, iii. 152. Reign and conquests of Zingis, v. 261. Conquests of his successors, 268. See *Tam-erlane*.
- Moguntiacum, the city of, surprised by the Allemanni, ii. 427.
- Mokawkas the Egyptian, his treaty with the Saracen Amrou, iv. 449.
- Monarchy defined, i. 109. Hereditary, ridiculous in theory, but salutary in fact, 223. The peculiar objects of cruelty and avarice under, ii. 59.
- Monastic institutions, the seeds of, sown by the primitive Christians, i. 549. Origin, progress, and consequences of, iii. 264.
- Money, the standard and computation of, under Constantine the Great and his successors, ii. 64, *notes*.
- Monks have embellished the sufferings of the primitive martyrs by fictions, i. 612. Their descriptions *not* to be esteemed fictitious, 613, *note G.*, with exception of miraculous interpositions, 613, *note M.* Character of, by Eunapius, ii. 613. By Rutilius, 639. Origin and history of, 265. Their industry in making proselytes, 269. Their obedience, 271. Their dress and habitations, 272. Their diet, 273. Their manual labor, 274. Their riches, 275. Their solitude, 276. Their devotion and visions, 277, 278. Their divisions into the classes of Cœnobites and Anachorets, 278. Suppression of, at Constantinople, by Constantine V., iv. 250.
- Monophysites of the East, their doctrine, iv. 130. History of the sect of, 161, 166, 170.
- Monothelite controversy, account of, iv. 149.
- Montanists, sect of the, iv. 143, *note*.
- Montesquieu, his description of the military government of the Roman empire, i. 247. His opinion, that the degrees of freedom in a state are measured by taxation, controverted, ii. 60.
- Montius, qumstor of the palace, is sent by the emperor Constantius, with Domitian, to correct the administration of Gallus in the East, ii. 120, *note M.* Is put to death there, 121.
- Moors of Barbary, their miserable poverty, iii. 495. Their origin, 500, *note*. Inscription relative to it, 501, *note M.* Their invasion of the Roman province punished by Solomon the eunuch, 503.
- Morals, the early Christians distinguished by the purity of their, i. 543, 544, *note M.*; 545, *notes M and G.*
- Morea is reduced by the Turks, v. 451.
- Moresini, Thomas, elected patriarch of Constantinople by the Venetians, v. 165.
- Mosellama, an Arabian chief, endeavors to rival Mahomet in his prophetic character, iv. 401; *vide note M.*
- Moses, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul not inculcated in his law, i. 530; *vide note M.* His military laws compared with those of Mahomet, iv. 362, *note M.*
- of Chorene, chronological difficulties in his history misled Gibbon into perpetual anachronisms, ii. 97, *note M.*
- Mosheim, character of his work *De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, iv. 107, *note*.
- Moslemah the Saracen besieges Constantinople, iv. 497, *note M.*
- Mostali the caliph, v. 61. Jerusalem defended against the crusaders by his lieutenant Aladin or Iftikhar, 63.

- Mostasem, last of the Abbasside caliphs, captured and put to death by Hologu, khan of the Mongols, v. 271.
- Motassam, his wars with the Greek emperor Theophilus, iv. 532.
- Mourzoufle usurps the Greek empire, and destroys Isaac Angelus and his son Alexius, v. 152. Is driven from Constantinople by the Latins, 154. His death, 166, *note M*.
- Mouss, the son of Bajazet, invested with the kingdom of Anatolia by Tamerlane, v. 318. His reign, 320.
- Mozarabes in the history of Spain explained, iv. 488.
- Municipal cities, their advantages, i. 80, *note M*; 81, *note M*.
- Muratori, the Italian historian, the elaborate and valuable works of, enumerated and characterized, v. 540. Biographical notice of, 541.
- Mursa, battle of, between the emperor Constantius and the usurper Magnentius, ii. 109.
- Musa the Saracen, his conquest of Spain, iv. 477. His disgrace, 480. His death, 481.
- Mustapha, the supposed son of Bajazet, his story, v. 328, 330.
- Muta, battle of, between the forces of the emperor Heraclius and those of Mahomet, iv. 373.
- Mygdonius, River, the course of, stopped by Sapor, king of Persia, at the siege of Nisibis, ii. 100, *note M*.

N.

- NACOLIA, battle of, in Phrygia, ii. 418, *note M*.
- Nacoranon the Persian defeated by the Romans, his fate, iii. 587, 588, *note M*.
- Nalssus, battle of, between Claudius and the Goths, i. 351.
- Naples is besieged and taken by Belisarius, iii. 513. Extent of the duchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, iv. 34.
- Narbonne is besieged by Theodoric and relieved by Count Idorius, iii. 178.
- Narses, his embassy from Sapor, king of Persia, to the emperor Constantius, ii. 135.
- , king of Persia, prevails over the pretensions of his brother Hormouz, and expels Tridates, king of Armenia, i. 432. Overthrows Galerius, 433. Is surprised and routed by Galerius, 434. Articles of peace between him and the Romans, 437.
- , the Persian general of the emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 61. His revolt against Phocas, and cruel death, 80.
- the eunuch, his military promotion and dissension with Belisarius, iii. 531. His character, and expedition to Italy, 617. Battle of Tagina, 620. Takes Rome, 622. Reduces and kills Teias, the last king of the Goths, 623. Defeats the Franks and Alomanni, 627. Governs Italy in the capacity of exarch, 628. His disgrace and death, iv. 21.
- Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, enters into the Roman service and is made consul, i. 328.
- Navy of the Roman empire described, i. 61.
- Nazarene church at Jerusalem, account of, i. 516. The Nazarones quitted the city before the siege, 517, *note M*.
- Nazarius, the Pagan orator, his account of miraculous appearances in the sky in favor of Constantine the Great, ii. 174, *note M*.
- Nebri dius, prætorian præfect in Gaul, is maimed and superseded by his indiscreet opposition to the troops of Julian, ii. 282.
- Negra, city in Yemen, massacre of Christians at, iii. 592, *note M*.
- Negroes of Africa, evidences of their intellectual inferiority to the rest of mankind, ii. 456, *note M*.
- Nectarius is chosen archbishop of Constantinople, ii. 555.

- Nennius, his account of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain different from that of Gildas, Bode, and Witikind, iii. 348, *note*.
- Nepos, Julius, is made emperor of the West by Leo the Great, iii. 258.
- Nepotian, account of his revolt in Italy, ii. 111.
- Nero persecutes the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, i. 600.
- Nerva, Emperor, his character and prudent adoption of Trajan, i. 126.
- Nestorius, archbishop of Constantinople, his character, iv. 121. His heresy concerning the incarnation, 121. His dispute with Cyril of Alexandria, 123. Is condemned and degraded from his episcopal dignity by the council of Ephesus, 125. Is exiled, 129. His death, 130. His opinions still retained in Persia, 154. Missions of his disciples in the East Indies, 156, 157.
- Never, John, count of, disastrous fate of him and his party at the battle of Nicopolis, v. 292.
- Nice becomes the capital residence of Sultan Soliman, iv. 721. Siege of, by the first crusaders, v. 48.
- Nicophorus I., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 198. His wars with the Saracens, 524. His death, 614.
- II., Phocas, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 216. His military enterprises, 544.
- III., Botaniates, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 226. Was raised to the throne by Sultan Soliman, 720.
- Nicoetas, senator of Constantinople, his flight on the capture of the city by the Latins, v. 157. His brief history, 159, *note*. His account of the statues destroyed at Constantinople, 169.
- Nicholas, patriarch of Constantinople, opposes the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo the philosopher, iv. 212.
- V., Pope, his character, v. 381. How interested in the fall of Constantinople, 421. His peaceful reign, 532.
- Nicomedia, the court of Diocletian held there, and the city embellished by him, i. 442. The church of, demolished by Diocletian, 642. The palace of, fired, 644, *note*; 646, *note* M.
- Nicopolis, battle of, between Sultan Bajazet and Sigismund, king of Hungary, v. 201. Number of the French engaged in, 202, *note* M.
- Nika, the sedition of, at Constantinople, iii. 428.
- Nile, navigable communication from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea by a canal and the river, iv. 456, *note* M.
- Nineveh, battle on the site of, between the emperor Heraclius and the Persians, iv. 98.
- Nisibis, the city of, i. 331, *note* M. Described, and its obstinate defence against the Persians, ii. 99. Is yielded to Sapor by treaty, 395.
- Nizam, the Persian vizier, his illustrious character, iv. 717. His assassination by Hassan Sabek, 718, *note* M.
- Noah, his ark very convenient for resolving the difficulties of Mosais antiquarians, i. 276.
- Nobilissimus, a title invented by Constantine the Great to distinguish his nephew Hannibalianus, ii. 81.
- Nogaret, Guillaume de, seizes Boniface VIII. at Anagni, v. 486.
- Noricum described, i. 65.
- Normans, their settlement in the province of Normandy in France, iv. 649. Their introduction to Italy, 650, *note* M. They serve in Sicily, 652. They are confirmed in the possession of Aversa, 651, *note* G. They conquer Apulia, 653. Their character, 654. Their treaty with the pope, 657.
- Notitia Dignitatum Imperii, ii. 29, *note* G.
- Noureddin, Sultan, his exalted character, v. 88.
- Novatians are exempted by Constantine the Great in a particular edict from the general penalties of heresy, ii. 202. Are cruelly persecuted by Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, 269.

- Novels of Justinian, how formed, and their character, iii. 670, *note*.
 Nubia, i. 437. Conversion of, to Christianity, iv. 172, 173, *note*.
 Numerian, the son of Carus, succeeds his father in the empire in conjunction with his brother Carinus, i. 403.
 Numidia, its extent at different eras of the Roman history, i. 70.
 Nushirvan, reign of, iii. 500. Conquest of Yemen by, iv. 51. His death, 54. See Oshroes I.

O.

- Oasis in the deserts of Libya described, iii. 90, *note*. Three places under this name pointed out, iv. 129, *note*. Various travellers who have visited them, 129, *note M*.
 Obedience, passive, theory and practice of the Christian doctrine of, ii. 105.
 Obelisks, Egyptian, the purpose of their erection, ii. 131.
 Oblations to the church, origin of, i. 500.
 Obligations, human, the sources of, iii. 703, *note M*. Laws of the Romans respecting, 704, *note W*.
 Octavian family not obscure, as asserted by Gibbon, i. 120, *note M*.
 Odenathus the Palmyrene, his successful opposition to Sapor, king of Persia, i. 334. Is associated in the empire by Gallienus, 340. Character and fate of his queen Zenobia, 364.
 Odin, the long reign of his family in Sweden, i. 284, *note*. His history, 302. Uncertain hypothesis respecting, 302. His migration from Asiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, 303; *vide note*. Gibbon's retraction of this theory, 303, *note M*.
 Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy, iii. 260, *note M*. His character and reign, 260, 267. Resigns all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps to Euric, king of the Visigoths, 305. Is reduced and killed by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 333.
 Ogors, or Varchonites, the, subdued by the Turks, iii. 558, *note M*.
 Ohnd, battle of, between Mahomet and Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, iv. 365.
 Olga, princess of Russia, her baptism, iv. 638.
 Olive, its introduction into the Western World, i. 103.
 Olybrius is raised to the Western empire by Count Ricimer, iii. 261.
 Olympic games compared with the tournaments of the Goths, v. 37.
 Olympiodorus, his account of the magnificence of the city of Rome, iii. 18. His account of the marriage of Adolphus, king of the Visigoths, with the princess Placidia, 01, *note*. Error in the translation of a passage of, ii. 672.
 Olympius, favorite of the emperor Honorius, alarms him with unfavorable suspicions of the designs of Stilicho, ii. 683. Causes Stilicho to be put to death, 686. His disgrace, and ignominious death, iii. 41.
 Omar, caliph of the Saracens, iv. 385. His character, 403. His journey to Jerusalem, 437. His reign, 442, 445, 453.
 Ommiyah, elevation of the house of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, iv. 392. Why not the objects of public favor, 508. Destruction of, 511. White the emblem of the Omniade dynasty, 511.
 Oracles, heathen, are silenced by Constantine the Great, ii. 264.
 Orchan, heir of the Ottomans, his reign, v. 282. Marries the daughter of the Greek emperor Constantine, 286.
 Ordination of the clergy in the early ages of the church, an account of, ii. 189. Their celibacy, when it was imposed, 190, *note M*.
 Orastes is sent ambassador from Attila, king of the Huns, to the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 160. His history, and promotion under the Western emperors, 264. His son Augustulus the last emperor of the West, 264, 267.

- Orestes, prætor of Egypt, is insulted by a monkish mob in Alexandria, iv. 119.
- Origen declares the number of primitive martyrs to be very inconsiderable, i. 615. The context to be considered, 615, *note* G. His conference with the empress Mammas, 630. His memory persecuted by the emperor Justinian and his clergy, iv. 146.
- Orleans besieged by Attila, king of the Huns, and relieved by Aëtius and Theodoric, iii. 186.
- Osius, bishop of Cordova, his great influence with Constantine the Great, ii. 177, *note*. Prevails on Constantine to ratify the Nicene creed, 228. Is with difficulty prevailed on to concur in deposing Athanasius, 245.
- Osrhoene, the small kingdom of, reduced by the Romans, i. 265.
- Ossian, his poems, whether to be connected with the invasion of Caledonia by the emperor Severus, i. 183, *notes*. Is said to have disputed with a Christian missionary, 578, *note*.
- Ostia, the port of, described, iii. 43.
- Othman, caliph of the Saracens, iv. 386.
- , the father of the Ottomans, his reign, v. 280.
- Otho I., king of Germany, restores and appropriates the Western empire, iv. 296. Claims by treaty the nomination of the pope of Rome, 299. Defeats the Turks, 325.
- II. deposes Pope John XII., and chastises his party at Rome, iv. 303.
- , bishop of Frisingen, his character as an historian, v. 477, *note*.
- Ottomans, origin and history of the, v. 281, *note* M. They obtain an establishment in Europe, 287.
- Ovid is banished to the banks of the Danube, ii. 84. His description of the Gots and Sarmatians, 85. Character of his "Epistles," 85.
- Oxyrinchus, in Egypt, monkish piety of that city, iii. 287.

P.

- PACATUS, his encomium on the emperor Theodosius the Great, ii. 572.
- Pæderasty, how punished by the Scantinian law, iii. 714. By Justinian, 715.
- Pagan, derivation and revolutions of the term, ii. 267, *note*.
- Paganism, the ruin of, suspended by the divisions among the Christians, ii. 287. Theological system of the emperor Julian, 310. General review of the ecclesiastical establishment and jurisdiction of, before it was subverted by Christianity, 502. Renounced by the Roman senate, 507, *note* M. The Pagan sacrifices prohibited, 509, *note* M. The temples demolished, 601. Vestiges of, in rural districts, to be traced to a later period, 613, *note* M. The ruin of, deplored by the sophists, 613. Pagan ceremonies revived in Christian churches, 610.
- Palæologus Constantine, the last Greek emperor, his reign, v. 406. Is killed in the storm of Constantinople, by the Turks, 440.
- , John, emperor of Constantinople, v. 242. Marries the daughter of John Cantacuzene, 249. Takes up arms against Cantacuzene, and is reduced to flight, 251. His restoration, 251. Discord between him and his sons, 295. His treaty with Pope Innocent VI., 344. Visits Urban V. at Rome, 345.
- , John II., his zeal, v. 354. His voyage to Italy, 360.
- , Manuel, associated with his father John in the Greek empire, v. 295. Tribute exacted from him by Sultan Bajazet, 297. His treaties with Soliman and Mahomet, the sons of Bajazet, 332. Visits the courts of Europe, 346. Private motives of his European negotiations explained, 353. His death, 354.
- , Michael, emperor of Nice, his brief replies to the negotiations of Baldwin II., emperor of Constantinople, v. 188. His family and character, 207. His elevation to the throne, 211. His return to Constanti-

- noble, 212. Blinds and banishes his young associate, John Iasonia, 214. He is excommunicated by the patriarch Arsacius, 214. Associates his son Andronicus in the empire, 216. His union with the Latin church, 218. Instigates the revolt of Sicily, 223.
- Palatines, and Borderers, origin and nature of these distinctions in the Roman troops, ii. 47.
- Palermo taken by Belisarius by stratagem, iii. 509.
- Palestine, character of, i. 67. Fertility of, vindicated, 67, 68, *note M*.
- Palladium of Rome, described, ii. 503, *note*.
- Palladius the notary, sent by Valentinian to Africa to inquire into the government of Count Romanus, connives with him in oppressing the province, ii. 461.
- Palmyra, description of, and its destruction by the emperor Aurelian, i. 368.
- Pamælius, teacher of the Stoic philosophy at Rome, iii. 806, *note*.
- Pandects of Justinian, how formed, iii. 673.
- Panhypsebastos, import of that title in the Greek empire, iv. 565.
- Pannonia described, i. 65.
- Panthæon at Rome, by whom erected, i. 93, *note*. Is converted into a Christian church, ii. 602.
- Pantomimes, Roman, described, iii. 32.
- Paper, where and when the manufacture of, was first found out, iv. 416, *note*.
- Papinian, the celebrated lawyer, created prætorian prefect by the emperor Severus, i. 178. His death, 180.
- Papirius, Caius, reasons for concluding that he could not be the author of the *Jus Papirianum*, iii. 648, *note*; *vide note W*.
- Papists, proportion their number bore to that of the Protestants in England at the beginning of the last century, ii. 168, *note*.
- Para, king of Armenia, his history, ii. 459. Is treacherously killed by the Romans, 461. Described as a magician, 461, *note M*.
- Parabolani of Alexandria, account of, iv. 118, *note*.
- Paradise, Mahomet's, described, iv. 353.
- Paris, description of that city under the government of Julian, ii. 157. Situation of his palace, 274, *note*.
- Parthia, its people described, i. 252, *note M*. Subdued by Artaxerxes, king of Persia, 282. Its constitution of government similar to the feudal system of Europe, 262. Recapitulation of the war with Rome, 263, 265.
- Paschal II., his troublesome pontificate, v. 402.
- Passion, the, observations on the darkness during the crucifixion, i. 583, 584, *note*; *vide note G*.
- Pastoral manners better adapted to the fierceness of war than to peace, ii. 476. The nomad tribes of Central Asia, 476, *note M*.
- Paternal authority, extent of, by the Roman laws, iii. 682, *note M*. Successive limitations of, 683.
- Patras, extraordinary deliverance of, from the Solavonians and Saracens, iv. 556.
- Patricians, the order of, under the Roman republic and under the emperors, compared, ii. 36. Under the Greek empire, their rank explained, iv. 273.
- Patrick, tutelar saint of Ireland, derivation of his name, iii. 259, *note*.
- Pavia, massacre of the friends of Stilicho there, by the instigations of Olympius, ii. 684. Is taken by Alboin, king of the Lombards, who fixes his residence there, iv. 23.
- Paul, St., martyrdom of, i. 558. His Epistle to the Romans, 558, *note M*.
 — of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, his character and history, i. 633, *note G*; 634, *note M*.
 —, archbishop of Constantinople, his fatal contest with his competitor Macedonius, ii. 266.

- Paula, a Roman widow, her illustrious descent, iii. 16. Was owner of the city of Nicopolis, 19. Her monastic zeal, 270.
- Paulicianns, origin and character of, iv. 594, *note M*. Are persecuted by the Greek emperors, 698. They revolt, 600. They are reduced, and transplanted to Thraee, 602. Their present state, 606. Imbued with Gnosticism, 606, *note M*.
- Paulinus, master of the offices to Theodosius the Younger, his crime, and execution, iii. 115.
- , bishop of Nola, his history, iii. 58.
- , patriarch of Aquileia, flies from the Lombards with his treasure into the island of Grado, iv. 22.
- Paulina, wife of the tyrant Maximin, softens his ferocity by gentle counsels, i. 228, *note*; *vide note G*.
- Peace, temple of, at Rome, i. 96, *note W*.
- Peers, house of, its increase since the time of Gibbon and policy thereof, iii. 680, *note M*.
- Pegasians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, iii. 669.
- Pekin, the city of, taken by Zingis, the Mogul emperor, v. 265, *notes*.
- Pelagian controversy agitated by the Latin clergy, ii. 676. And in Britain, iii. 82.
- Pella, the church of the Nazarenes settled there on the destruction of Jerusalem, i. 517, *note M*.
- Peloponnesus, state of, under the Greek empire, iv. 555. Manufactures, 557.
- Penal laws of Rome, the abolition and revival of, iii. 710, 712.
- Pendragon, his office and power in Britain, iii. 82.
- Penitentials of the Greek and Latin churches, history of, v. 22.
- Pepin, king of France, assists the pope of Rome against the Lombards, 269, *note M*. Receives the title of king by papal sanction, 272. Grants the exarchate to the pope, 275.
- , John, count of Minorbino, reduces the tribune Rienzi, and restores aristocracy and church government at Rome, v. 517.
- Pepper, its high estimation and price at Rome, iii. 88, *note*.
- Perennis, minister of Commodus, his exaltation and downfall, i. 140.
- Periplus, or circumnavigation of the Euxine by Arrian, iii. 577, *note*.
- Perisabor, or Eyrour Schapour, a city of Assyria, reduced and burned by the emperor Julian, ii. 370; *vide note M*.
- Perozes, king of Persia, his fatal expedition against the Nephthalites, iii. 461, *note M*.
- Persarmenia, churches of, persecuted by the Magi, iv. 52, *note M*.
- Persecutions, ten, of the primitive Christians, a review of, i. 626, 628, *note M*.; 631, *notes G*. and *M*.; 633, *note G*.; 641, 652, *note M*.; 657, *note M*.
- Perseus, amount of the treasures taken from that prince, i. 214.
- Persia, the monarchy of, restored by Artaxerxes, i. 252, *note M*. The religion of the Magi reformed, 253, *note M*. Abridgment of the Persian theology, 256. Simplicity of their worship, 257. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 258. Every other mode of worship prohibited but that of Zoroaster, 261. Extent and population of the country, 263. Its military power, 270. Account of the audience given by the emperor Carus to the ambassadors of Varanes, 402. The throne of, disputed by the brothers Narses and Hormuz, 432. Galerius defeated by the Persians, 433. Narses overthrown in his turn by Galerius, 434. Articles of peace agreed on between the Persians and the Romans, 437. War between Sapor, king of, and the emperor Constantius, ii. 97, *note M*. Battle of Singara, 98. Sapor invades Mesopotamia, 137. The Persian territories invaded by the emperor Julian, 364. Passage of the Tigris, 376. Julian harassed in his retreat, 385. Treaty of peace between Sapor and the emperor Jovian, 395, *note M*. Reduction of Armenia, and death of Sapor, 436, 459. The silk trade, how carried on from China through Persia for the supply of

- the Roman empire, iii. 433. Death of Perozes, in an expedition against the White Huns, 402. Review of the reigns of Cabades, and his son Chosroes, 504, 565, *note M.* Anarchy of, after the death of Chosroes II., iv. 102. Ecclesiastical history of, 164. Invasion of, by the caliph Abubeker, 406. Battle of Cadesia, 407, 408. Sack of Ctesiphon, 409. Conquest of, by the Saracens, 414. The Magian religion supplanted by Mahometism, 485. The power of the Arabs crushed by the dynasty of the Bowides, 542. Persia subdued by the Turks, 703. Conquest of, by the Moguls, v. 270, *note M.* By Tamerlane, 303, *note M.*
- Pertinax, his character, and exaltation to the imperial throne, i. 140, 150. His funeral and apotheosis, 168.
- Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, assumes the imperial dignity on the death of Pertinax, i. 168.
- Petavius, character of his *Dogmata Theologica*, iv. 106, *note.*
- Peter, brother of the Eastern emperor Maurice, his injurious treatment of the citizens of Asimuntium, iv. 69.
- I., czar of Russia, his conduct towards his son contrasted with that of Constantine the Great, ii. 79.
- of Arragon assumes the kingdom of Sicily, v. 225.
- Peter, St., his and St. Paul's martyrdom, i. 558. The church of Rome strictly speaking, not founded by, 558, *note M.* On the words *cephas, pierre*, corresponding with *petros*, 559, *notes.*
- Bartholemey, his miraculous discovery of the Holy Lance, v. 57. His strange death, 59, 60, *note M.*
- of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, v. 170.
- the Ilormit, his character and scheme to recover the Holy Land from the infidels, v. 13. Leads the first crusaders, 27. Failure of his zeal, 57, *note M.*
- Petra, the city of, taken by the Persians, iii. 584. Is besieged by the Romans, 585. Is demolished, 586.
- Petrarch, his studies and literary character, v. 373. And history, 407. His account of the ruin of the ancient buildings of Rome, 556.
- Pfessl, character of his history of Germany, iv. 310, *note.*
- Phalanx, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, i. 56.
- Pharamond, the actions, and foundation of the French monarchy by him of doubtful authority, iii. 70; *vide note M.*
- Pharas commands the Heruli, in the African war under Belisarius, iii. 480. Pursues Gellmer, 495. His letter to Gellmer, 496.
- Pharisees, account of that sect among the Jews, i. 531.
- Phasis, River, its course described, iii. 578.
- Pheasant, derivation of the name of that bird, iii. 579.
- Phila, isle of, or Elephantine, i. 427, *note M.*
- Philadelphus, Francis, his character of the Greek language of Constantinople, v. 370. Adventures of, 369, 370, *notes.*
- Philip I., of France, his limited dominion and power, v. 17.
- Augustus, of France, engages in the third crusade, v. 100.
- , prætorian præfect under the third Gordian, raised to the empire on his death, i. 247. Was a favorer of the Christians, 631.
- , prætorian præfect of Constantinople, conveys the bishop Paul into banishment clandestinely, ii. 267.
- Philippicus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 191.
- Philippopolis taken and sacked by the Goths, i. 308, *note G.*
- Philo, a character of his works, ii. 209, *note.*
- Philopatris, dialogue of the, i. 403, *notes M.*
- Philosophy, Grecian, review of the various sects of, i. 75.
- Pluineus, the situation of his palace, ii. 13.
- Phocæa is settled by Genoese, who trade in alum, v. 331.
- Phocæa, a centurion, is chosen emperor by the disaffected troops of the East.

- ern empire, iv. 72. Murders the emperor Maurice, and his children, 74. His character, 76. His fall and death, 78.
- Phoenicia described, i. 67.
- Photius, the son of Antonina, distinguishes himself at the siege of Naples, iii. 540. Is exiled, 541. Betrays his mother's vices to Belisarius, 542. Turns monk, 543.
- , patriarch of Constantinople, character of his library, iv. 538. His quarrel with the pope of Rome, v. 120, 121.
- , the patrician, kills himself to escape the persecution of Justinian, iv. 144.
- Phranza, George, the Greek historian, some account of, v. 353, *note*. His embassies, 400, 407. His fate on the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 443.
- Picardy, derivation of the name of that province, v. 13, *note*.
- Pilate, Pontius, his testimony in favor of Jesus Christ much improved by the primitive fathers, i. 627.
- Pilpay's Fables, history and character of, iii. 570. Translations of, 570, *note M*.
- Pinna marina, a kind of silk manufactured from the threads spun by this fish, by the Romans, iii. 433, *note*.
- Pipa, a princess of the Marcomanni, espoused by Gallienus, i. 321.
- Piso, Calphurnius, one of the competitors against Gallienus, his illustrious family and character, i. 338.
- Pityus, the city of, destroyed by the Goths, i. 324, *note G*.
- Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, her history and marriage with Adolphus, king of the Goths, iii. 60, 61. Is injuriously treated by the usurper Singoris after the death of her husband, 73. Her marriage with Constantius, and retreat to Constantinople, 121. Her administration in the West as guardian of her son, the emperor Valentinian III., 126. History of her daughter Honoria, 183. Her death and burial, 204, *note*.
- Plague, origin and nature of this disease, iii. 641. Great extent and long duration of that in the reign of Justinian, 644.
- Plato, his theological system, ii. 200. Critical disquisition respecting it, 206, 207, 208, *notes G*. and *M*. Is received by the Alexandrian Jews, 209. And expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 210. The theological system of the emperor Julian, 370.
- Platonic philosophy introduced into Italy, v. 380.
- Platonists, now, an account of, i. 456. Unite with the heathen priests to oppose the Christians, 638.
- Plautianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Severus, his history, i. 177. Causes of his assassination, 178, *notes W*. and *M*.
- Plebeians of Rome, state and character of, iii. 28.
- Pliny the Younger, his testimony concerning the number of the Christians, 580, 581, *note G*. Examination of his conduct towards the Christians, i. 608, 609, *note M*. Trajan approves his measures, 609, *note M*.
- Poet laureate, a ridiculous appointment, v. 498, *note*.
- Poggins, his reflections on the ruin of ancient Rome, v. 542. In the time of Martin V., not of Eugenius IV., 542, *note M*.
- Poitiers, battle of, between Clovis, king of the Franks, and Alaric, king of the Goths, iii. 321.
- Pollentia, battle of, between Stilicho, the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, ii. 658.
- Polytheism of the Romans, its origin and effects, i. 74. Its spirit of toleration considered and denied, 74, *note M*. How accounted for by the primitive Christians, 524. Scepticism of the people at the time of the publication of Christianity, 568. The Christians, why more odious to the Pagans than the Jews, 590. The ruin of, suspended by the divisions among Christians, ii. 267. Theological system of the emperor Julian,

310. Review of the Pagan ecclesiastical establishment, 592. Revival of, by the Christian monks, 619.
- Pompeianus, præfect of Rome, proposes to drive Alaric from the walls by spells which should draw down lightning, iii. 37; *vide note M.*
- , Ruricius, general under Maxentius, defeated and killed by Constantine the Great, i. 483, 484.
- Pompey, his discretionary exercise of power in the East, i. 113. Increase of the tributes of Asia by his conquests, 214; *vide note M.*
- Pomptine Marshes drained and cultivated, iii. 300, *note M.*
- Pontiffs, Pagan, their jurisdiction, ii. 503.
- Pontifex Maximus, in Pagan Rome, by whom that office was exercised, ii. 185.
- Popes of Rome, the growth of their power, iv. 259. Revolt of, from the Greek emperors, 263. Origin of their temporal dominion, 275. Publication of the Decretals, and of the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 277. Authority of the German emperors in their election, 299. Violent distractions in their election, 299. Foundation of their authority at Rome, v. 458. Their mode of election settled, 483. Schism in the papacy, 525. They acquire the absolute dominion of Rome, 536. The ecclesiastical government, 539.
- Population of Rome, a computation of, iii. 32.
- Porcari, Stephen, his conspiracy at Rome, v. 534.
- Posthumus, the Roman general under the emperor Gallienus, defends Gaul against the incursions of the Franks, i. 318. Is killed by his mutinous troops, 362.
- Posts and post-houses established by Augustus, i. 100, 101, *note M.*
- Power, absolute, the exercise of, how checked, iv. 574.
- Præfect of the sacred bed-chamber under Constantine the Great, his office, ii. 52.
- Præfects of Rome and Constantinople, under the emperors, nature of their office, ii. 38. Revived at Rome, vi. 498.
- Prætextatus, præfect of Rome under Valentinian, his character, ii. 434.
- Prætorian bands in the Roman army, an account of, i. 150. Their camp on the Viminal hill, 157, *note M.* They sell the empire of Rome by public auction, 159. Are disgraced by the emperor Severus, 168. A new establishment of them, 177. Authority of the prætorian præfect, 177. Are reduced, their privileges abolished, and their place supplied by the Jovians and Hercullians, 443. Their desperate courage under Maxentius, 486. Are totally suppressed by Constantine the Great, 488.
- Præfect, revolutions of this office under the emperors, ii. 36. Their functions when it became a civil office, 37.
- Prætors of Rome, the nature and tendency of their edicts, iii. 654, 655, *notes M. and W.*
- Preaching, a form of devotion unknown in the temples of Paganism, ii. 197. Use and abuse of, 198.
- Predestination, influence of the doctrine of, on the Saracens and Turks, iv. 363.
- Presbyters, among the primitive Christians, their office explained, i. 553, *note M.*
- Prester John, origin of the romantic stories concerning, iv. 157.
- Priestley, Dr., the ultimate tendency of his opinions, iv. 610, *note; vide note M.*
- Priests, no distinct order of men among the Pagans, i. 568; ii. 277.
- Primogeniture, prerogative of, unknown to the Roman law, iii. 603.
- Prince of the waters, in Persia, his office, iii. 508, *note.*
- Priscillian, bishop of Avila in Spain, is, with his followers, put to death for heresy, ii. 558.
- Priscus, the historian, his conversation with a captive Greek, in the camp of Attila, iii. 155. Quotations from, 155, 156, *note; 158, note.*
- , the Greek general, his successes against the Avars, iv. 70.

- Proba, widow of the Prefect Patronius, her flight from the sack of Rome by Alaric, iii. 53.
- Probus assumes the imperial dignity in opposition to Florianus, i. 387. His character and history, 388, 398.
- , praetorian prefect of Illyrium, preserves Sirmium from the Quadi, ii. 468. His auspicious government, 469.
- , Siciotus, his embassy from the emperor Diocletian to Narses, king of Persia, i. 436.
- Proclida, John of, instigates the revolt of Sicily from John of Anjou, v. 223, 224.
- Proclus, story of his extraordinary brazen mirror, iii. 447.
- , the Platonic philosopher of Athens, his superstition, iii. 470.
- Proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, their office, ii. 40, 41, *notes*.
- Procopia, empress of Michael I., her martial inclinations, iv. 199.
- Procopius, his history, and revolt against Valens, emperor of the East, 414, 416, *note M.*; 417, 418, *notes M.* Is reduced, and put to death, 418, *note M.* His account of the testament of the emperor Arcadius, iii. 108, *notes*. His account of Britain, 361, *note*. Character of his histories, 413, 414, *note M.* Accepts the office of secretary under Belisarius, 478. His defence of the Roman archers, 480. His account of the desolation of the African province by war, 599, 600, *note*.
- Proculians, origin of the sect of, in the Roman civil law, iii. 668.
- Proculus, his extraordinary character, and his rebellion against Probus in Gaul, i. 397.
- Prodigies in ancient history, a philosophical resolution of, i. 583.
- Promises, under what circumstances the Roman law enforced the fulfilment of, iii. 703, 704, *note W.*
- Promotus, master-general of the infantry under Theodosius, is ruined by the enmity of Rufinus, ii. 623.
- Property, personal, the origin of, iii. 694. How ascertained by the Roman laws, 695, 696, *note W.* Testamentary dispositions of, how introduced, 700.
- Prophets, their office among the primitive Christians, i. 552, *note M.*
- Proponitis described, ii. 15.
- Proterius, patriarch of Alexandria, his martial episcopacy, and violent death, iv. 137.
- Protestants, their resistance of oppression not consistent with a practice of the primitive Christians, ii. 106. Proportion of their number to that of the Catholics, in France, at the beginning of the last century, 168, *note*. Estimate of their reformation of popery, iv. 606.
- Protopsebastos, import of that title in the Greek empire, iv. 565.
- Proverbs, the book of, doubts as to its being the production of King Solomon, iii. 498, *note*. Rosenmüller's opinion as to the period of its composition, *note M.*, 498.
- Provinces of the Roman empire described, i. 62. Distinction between Latin and Greek provinces, 83. Account of the tributes received from, 214; *note M.*, 221. Their number and government after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, ii. 41.
- Prusa, conquest of, by the Ottomans, v. 281.
- Prussia, emigration of the Goths to, i. 303, *vide notes*.
- Pulcheria, sister of the emperor Theodosius the Younger, her character and administration, iii. 116. Her lessons to her brother, 112. Her contests with the empress Eudocia, 115. Is proclaimed empress of the East, on the death of Theodosius, 171. Her death and canonization, 236, *note*.
- Purple, the imperial robe of, i. 445.
- , the royal color of, among the ancients, far surpassed by the modern discovery of cochineal, iii. 431, *note*.
- Pygmies of Africa, ancient fabulous account of, ii. 455.

Q.

- QUADI**, the inroads of, punished by the emperor Constantius, ii. 133. Revenge the treacherous murder of their king, Gabinus, 467.
Quistor, historical review of this office, ii. 53.
Question, criminal, how exercised under the Roman emperors, ii. 58.
Quintilian brothers, Maximus and Cordinus, their history, i. 139.
Quintilius, brother of the emperor Claudius, his ineffectual effort to succeed him, i. 353; *vide note G.*
Quintus Curtius, an attempt to decide the age in which he wrote, i. 245, *note*. Arguments respecting it, 245, *note G.*, *note M.*
Quirites, the effect of that word when opposed to *soldiers*, i. 211.

R.

- RADAGAIUS**, king of the Goths, his formidable invasion of Italy, ii. 669. His savage character, 670. Is reduced by Stilicho, and put to death, 672.
Radiger, king of the Varni, compelled to fulfil his matrimonial obligations by a British heroine, iii. 361.
Rainulf, Count, leader of the Normans in Italy, iv. 651, *note G.*
Ramadan, the month of, how observed by the Turks, iv. 350.
Ramon de Montaner, autobiography of, *notes G. and M.*, v. 227, 228, 229, 230.
Rando, a chieftain of the Allemanni, his unprovoked attack of Moguntiacum, ii. 437.
Ravenna, the ancient city of, described, ii. 664. The emperor Honorius fixes his residence there, 665. Invasion of, by a Greek fleet, iv. 265. Taken by the Lombards and recovered by the Venetians, 268. Final conquest of, by the Lombards, 260. Exarchate of, bestowed by Pepin on the pope, 275.
Raymond of Thoulouse, the crusader, his character, v. 34. His route to Constantinople, 39. His bold behavior at Dorylæum, 51. And at the siege of Jerusalem, 64.
 ———, count of Tripoli, betrays Jerusalem into the hands of Saladin, v. Doubt as to the extent of his guilt, 96, *note M.*
Raynal, Abbé, mistaken in asserting that Constantine the Great suppressed Pagan worship, ii. 183, *note*.
Rebels, who the most inveterate of, iv. 600.
Reccared, the first Catholic king of Spain, converts his Gothic subjects, iii. 299, 300.
Red Sea, communication by a canal and the Nile with the Mediterranean, iv. 456, *note M.*
Reformation from popery, the amount of, estimated, iv. 606. A secret reformation still working in the reformed churches, 609, 610, *note M.*
Reindeer, this animal driven northward by the improvement of climate from cultivation, i. 274, 275, *note M.*
Relics, the worship of, introduced by the monks, ii. 614. A valuable cargo of, imported from Constantinople by Louis IX. of France, v. 186.
Remigius, bishop of Rheims, converts Clovis, king of the Franks, iii. 311.
Repentance, its high esteem and extensive operation among the primitive Christians, i. 544.
Resurrection, general, the Mahometan doctrine of, iv. 351.
Retiarius, the mode of his combat with the Secutor in the Roman amphitheatre, i. 147.
Revenues of the primitive church, how distributed, i. 560, 562; ii. 193. Of the Roman empire in the reign of Augustus, i. 216, *notes G. and W.* When removed to Constantinople, a review of, ii. 60, *note G.*
Rhætium, city of, its situation, ii. 17.
Rhætia described, i. 65.

- Rhazates the Persian defeated and killed by Hernoallus, iv. 98.
 Rhetoric, the study of, congenial to a popular state, iii. 467.
 Rhine, banks of the, fortified by the emperor Valentinian, ii. 439.
 Rhodes, the colossus of, iv. 444. The knights of, v. 284.
 Richard I. of England engages in the third crusade, v. 100. His military renown, 102. Is accused of the death of Conrad of Montferrat, 103, *note*. Opinions on this charge, 103, M. Bestows the Island of Cyprus on the house of Lusignan, 120. His reply to the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, 120, 130.
 ———, monk of Cirencester, his literary character, iii. 80, *note*.
 Ricimer, Count, his history, iii. 221. Permits Majorian to assume the imperial dignity in the Western empire, 223. Enjoys supreme power under cover of the name of the emperor Libius Severus, 232. Marries the daughter of the emperor Anthemius, 238. Sacks Rome and kills Anthemius, 262. His death, 262.
 Rienzi, Nicholas di, his birth, character, and history, v. 501.
 Roads, Roman, the construction and great extent of, i. 100.
 Robert of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, v. 180.
 ——— of Paris, his adventures in the crusades, v. 45.
 ———, count of Flanders, his character and engagement in the first crusade, v. 33, 68.
 ———, duke of Normandy, his character and engagement in the first crusade, v. 33, 54. Recalled by the censures of the church, 67.
 Roderic, the Gothic king of Spain, his defeat by Tarik the Arab, iv. 474. His death, 476.
 Rodogune, probable origin of her character, in Rowe's "Royal Convert," iii. 362, *note*.
 Rogor, count of Sicily, his conquest of that island, iv. 684, 685.
 ———, son of the former, the first king of Sicily, iv. 681, 682. His military achievements in Africa and Greece, 683, 684.
 ——— de Flor engages as an auxiliary in the service of the Greek emperor Andronicus, v. 227. His assassination, 229, 230, *notes* M.
 ——— omanus I., Leonapenus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 213.
 ——— II., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 215.
 ——— III., Argyrus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 221.
 ——— IV., Diogenes, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 225. Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Turkish sultan Alp Arslan, 711, 712. His treatment, deliverance, and death, 712, 713.
 ———, governor of Africa, his corrupt administration, ii. 450.
 ———, governor of Bosra, betrays it to the Saracens, iv. 419, 420.
 Rome—Roman Empire, the three periods of its decline pointed out, i. 19. Author's Preface. Its prosperous circumstances in the second century, i. 43. The principal conquests of, achieved under the republic, 43. Conquests under the emperors, 45–49. Military establishment of the emperors, 53, 54, *note* M. Naval force of the empire, 61. View of the provinces of the empire, 62. Its general extent, 72. The union and internal prosperity of the empire in the age of the Antonines accounted for, 73. Treatment of the provinces, 81. Benefits included in the freedom of the city, 83. Distinction between the Latin and Greek provinces, 83, 84. Municipal privileges of certain cities, 81, *notes*; 82, M. Prevalence of the Greek as a scientific language, 85. Numbers and condition of the Roman slaves, 85. Unhappy influence of slavery and captivity in enhancing the bitterness of ancient warfare, 85, *note* G.; 86, 87, 88, *notes* M. and G. Hope of enfranchisement, 88. Populousness of the empire, 90. Unity and power of the government, 92. Monuments of Roman architecture, 93, 97. The Roman magnificence chiefly displayed in public buildings, 93. Principal cities in the empire, 97. Public roads, 100. Great improvements of agriculture in the western countries of the

empire, 100. Arts of luxury, 104. Commerce with the East, 104. Contemporary representation of the prosperity of the empire, 106. Decline of courage and genius, 106. Review of public affairs after the battle of Actium, 109. The imperial power and dignity confirmed to Augustus by the senate, 111. The various characters and powers vested in the emperor, 115. General idea of the imperial system, 118. Abortive attempt of the senate to resume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 123. The emperors associate their intended successors to power, 124. The most happy period in the Roman history pointed out, 130. Their peculiar misery under their tyrants, 131. The empire publicly sold by auction by the prætorian guards, 159. Civil wars of the Romans, how generally decided, 172. When the army first received regular pay, 213. How the citizens were relieved from taxation, 214. General estimate of the Roman revenue from the provinces, 214, 216. Miseries flowing from the succession to the empire being elective, 223. A summary review of the Roman history, 225-260. Recapitulation of the war with Parthia, 263. Invasion of the provinces by the Goths, 305. The office of censor revived by the emperor Decius, 309. Peace purchased of the Goths, 312. The emperor Valerian taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, 332. The popular conceit of the thirty tyrants of Rome investigated, 337. Famine and pestilence throughout the empire, 343. Remarks on the alleged sedition of the officers of the mint under Aurelian, 375. Observations on the peaceful interregnum after the death of Aurelian, 380. Colonies of Barbarians introduced into the provinces by Probus, 394. Exhibition of the public games by Carinus, 400. Treaty of peace between the Persians and the Romans, 435. How the imperial courts came to be transferred to Milan and Nicomedia, 441, 442. The prætorian bands superseded by the Jovian and Herculean guards, 443. The power of the senate annihilated, 443. Four divisions of the empire under four conjunct princes, 447. Their expensive establishments call for more burdensome taxes, 447. Titles of Dominus and of Basileus, or king, 444. Diocletian and Maximian affect the style and attributes of divinity, 446. The former assumes a diadem, 446. His imperial robe and jewels, 446. The pomp and state of the republican consuls was magisterial, the ceremony and magnificence of these emperors personal, 446, *notes G.* and M. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire, 451. Six emperors existing at one time, 460. The senate and people apply to Constantine to deliver them from the tyranny of Maxentius, 479. *Laws of Constantine*, 497. Constantine remains sole emperor, 506. History of the progress and establishment of Christianity, 507. Pretensions of the bishop of Rome, whence deduced, 558. State of the church at Rome at the time of the persecution by Nero, 574. The memorable edicts of Diocletian and his associates against the Christians, 642, 645. His cruel persecution, 647, *note G.* Account of the building and establishment of the rival city of Constantinople, ii. 11. New forms of administration established there, 29. Division of the Roman empire among the sons of Constantine, 93. Establishment of Christianity as the national religion, 185. Paganism restored by Julian, 317, and Christianity by Jovian, 404. The empire divided into the East and West by Valentinian, 413. Civil institutions by Valentinian, 414. The crafty avarice of the clergy restrained by Valentinian, 431. Great earthquake, 428. Laws passed for the relief of Rome and Italy, iii. 63. Triumph of Honorius for the reduction of Spain by Wallia, 75. Indications of the ruin of the empire at the death of Valentinian, 203. General observations on the history of the Roman empire, 364.

Rome, city of, fortified against the inroads of the Allemanni, i. 360. The last triumph celebrated at Rome, 440. Constantine enters the city victorious, 485. Narrative of the fire of Rome in the reign of Nero, 600.

The Christians persecuted as the incendiaries, 600. Tumults excited by the rival bishops Liberius and Felix, ii. 255. Bloody contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, 433. The emperor Theodosius visits the city, 570. Inquiry into the cause of the corruption of morals in his reign, 600. Review of the Pagan establishment, 592. The Pagan religion renounced by the senate, 597. Sacrifices prohibited, 600. The Pagan religion prohibited, 610. Triumph of Honorina and Stilicho over Alaric the Goth, 661. Alaric encamps under the walls of the city, iii. 14. Retrospect of the state of the city when besieged by Hannibal, 14. Wealth of the nobles and magnificence of the city, 18. Character of the nobles of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 21. State and character of the common people, 28. Public distributions of bread, etc., 29. Public baths, 30. Games and spectacles, 31. Attempts to ascertain the population of the city, 32. The citizens suffer by famine, 36. Plague, 36. Besieged by Alaric, 35. The retreat of Alaric purchased by a ransom, 38. Is again besieged by Alaric, 44. The senate unites with him in electing Attalus emperor, 44. The city seized a third time by Alaric and plundered, 47. Comparison between this event and the sack of Rome by the emperor Charles V., 55. Alaric quits Rome and ravages Italy, 56. Is preserved from the hands of Attila by a ransom, 200. Sack of the city by Genseric, king of the Vandals, 213. The public buildings of, protected from depredation by the laws of Majorian, 227. Is sacked again by the patrician Ricimir, 262. Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, 265. The decay of the Roman spirit remarked, 266. History of monastic institutions in, 267. Prosperity of the city under the government of Theodoric, 303. Account of the four factions in the circus, 423. First introduction of silk among the Romans, 432. The office of consul suppressed by Justinian, 472. The city receives Belisarius, 516. Siege of, by the Goths, 517. Distressful siege of, by Totila, the Goth, 606. Is taken, 608. Is recovered by Belisarius, 610. Is again taken by Totila, 614. Is taken by the eunuch Narses, 621. Extinction of the senate, 622. The city degraded to the second rank under the exarchs of Ravenna, 629. A review of the Roman laws, 645, *et seq.*, notes W. and M. Extent of the duchy of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, iv. 34. Miserable state of the city, 41. Pontificate of Gregory the Great, 45. The government of the city new modelled under the popes after their revolt from the Greek emperors, 267. Is attacked by the Lombards and delivered by King Pepin, 270, 271. The office and rank of exarchs and patricians explained, 278. Reception of Charlemagne by Pope Adrian I., 274. Origin of the temporal power of the popes, 275. Mode of electing a pope, 299. Is menaced by the Saracens, 520. Prosperous pontificate of Leo IV., 529, 531. Is besieged and taken by the emperor Henry III., 677. Great part of the city burnt by Robert Guiscard in the cause of Pope Gregory VII., 678. The history of, resumed, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, v. 456. French and German emperors of, 457. Authority of the popes, 458. Restoration of the Republican form of government, 469. Office of senator, 473. Wars against the neighboring cities, 480. Institution of the jubilee, 489. Revolution in the city by the tribune Rienzi, 503. His character, 510, *note* M. Calamities flowing from the schism of the papacy, 527. Statutes and government of the city, 532. Porseno's conspiracy, 534. The ecclesiastical government of, 539. Reflections of Poggius on the ruin of the city, 542. Four principal causes of its ruin specified, 545. The Coliseum of Titus, 556, 557, *note* M. Restoration and ornaments of the city, 562.

Romilda, the betrayer of Friuli to the Avars, her cruel treatment by them, iv. 85.

Rosamond, daughter of Unimund, king of the Gepids, her marriage with

- Alboin, king of the Lombards, iv. 17, 19. Conspires his murder, 24, 25. Her flight and death, 25.
- Roum, the Seljukian kingdom of, formed, iv. 721.
- Roxolani, account of their chiefs, ii. 497, *notes*.
- Rudbock, Olaus, summary abridgment of the arguments in his *Atlantica*, i. 277, *note*.
- Rufinus, the confidential minister of the emperor Theodosius the Great, stimulates his cruelty against Thessalonica, ii. 577. His character and administration, 622. His death, 633.
- Rugilas the Hun, his settlement in Hungary, iii. 142, 143, *note M*.
- Runic characters, the antiquity of, traced, i. 278, *note*; and *note M*.
- Russia, origin of the Russ, ii. 497, *notes*. Of the monarchy of, iv. 620, *note M*. Geography and trade of, 629, 630. Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople, 632. Reign of the czar Swatoslaus, 636. The Russians converted to Christianity, 638. Is conquered by the Moguls, v. 273. State of the Greek church of, in the time of Cardinal Isidore, 889.
- Rustan, a Persian nobleman, a saying of his expressive of the danger of living under despots, i. 131.
- Rutilius, his character of the monks of Caprarina, ii. 689.

S.

- SABELLIUS the heresiarch, his opinions afterwards adopted by his antagonists, ii. 217. His doctrine of the Trinity, 219. The Sabellians unite with the Tritheists at the council of Nice to overpower the Arians, 221.
- Sabians, their astronomical mythology, iv. 338.
- Sabinian obtains the command of the eastern provinces from Constantius, ii. 142.
- , general of the East, is defeated by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, king of Italy, iii. 389.
- Sabinians, origin of the sect of, in the Roman civil law, iii. 668.
- Sacrifices of oxen and sheep, ii. 329. Of camels, 329, *note M*. Similar sacrifices sanctioned by the Koran, iv. 850, *note M*.
- Sadducees, account of that sect among the Jews, i. 531.
- Saffah, or Abul Abbas, establishes the dynasty of the Abbasside caliphs, iv. 510, *note M*.
- Saladin, his birth, promotion, and character, v. 93. Conquers the kingdom of Jerusalem, 98, 99. His ineffectual siege of Tyre, 99. Siege of Acre, 100. His negotiations with Richard I. of England, 106. His death, 108.
- Salerno, account of the medical school of, iv. 663.
- Salian tribe governed by Clovis, iii. 306.
- Salle laws, history of, iii. 320, *note M*. Choice permitted to individuals as to which code (the Salle or the Roman) they would abide by, 327; *vide note M*.
- Sallust, the prefect and friend of the emperor Julian, ii. 295, *notes*. Declines the offer of the diadem on his death, 391. Declines it again on the death of Jovian, 409. Is retained in his employment by the emperor Valentinian, 413, 424.
- the historian, by what funds he raised his palace on the Quirinal hill, iii. 52, *note*.
- Salona, the retreat of the emperor Diocletian, described, i. 453.
- Salvian, his account of the distress and rebellion of the Bagaudæ, iii. 207, *note*.
- Samanides, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 541.
- Samaritans, persecution and extinction of, by Justinian, iv. 145.
- Samuel the prophet, his ashes conveyed to Constantinople, ii. 614.

- Sapor, king of Persia, procures the assassination of Chosroes, king of Armenia, and seizes the country, i. 331. Defeats the emperor Valerian, and takes him prisoner, 331. Sets up Cyriades as successor to Valerian in the Roman empire, 332. Overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, 333. His death, 339.
- , the son of Hormouz, is crowned king of Persia before his birth, ii. 93, 94, *note M*. His character and early heroism, 94. Harasses the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, 97, *note M*. Battle of Singara against the emperor Constantius, 98. His son brutally killed by Constantius, 99. His several attempts on Nisibis, 99. Concludes a truce with Constantius, 101. His haughty propositions to Constantius, 135. Invades Mesopotamia, 137. Reduces Amida, 138. Returns home, 141. His peaceful overtures to the emperor Julian, 353. His consternation at the successes of Julian, 380. Harasses the retreat of the Romans, 395. His treaty with the emperor Jovian, 394. His reduction of Armenia, and death, 456, 459.
- Saracens, various definitions of that appellation, iv. 323, *note*. Succession of the caliphs, 333. Their rapid conquests, 404. Conquest of Persia, 414. Siege of Damascus, 420. Battle of Yermuk, and conquest of Syria, 434. Of Egypt, 445. Invasions of Africa, 459. Their military character, 580.
- Sabar, the Persian general, joins the Avars in besieging Constantinople, iv. 95. Revolts to the emperor Heraclius, 98.
- Sardinia, expulsion of the Vandals from, by Marcellinus, iii. 241. Is conquered by Zeno, the brother of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, 490. Is surrendered to Belisarius, 493.
- Sarmatians, memorable defeat of, by the emperor Carus, i. 401. Their manners described, ii. 83. Brief history of, 85. They apply to Constantine the Great for assistance against the Goths, 86. Are expelled their country by the Limburgues, 88. Are restored by Constantius, 133.
- Savage manners, a brief view of, i. 278. Are more uniform than those of civilized nations, ii. 475.
- , the Goth plunders the camp of Stilicho, and drives him into the hands of the emperor at Ravenna, ii. 685. Insults Alaria, and occasions the smothering of Rome, iii. 47. Is killed by Adolphus, king of the Visigoths, 70, *note M*.
- Saturninus, one of the competitors for empire against Gallienus, his observation on his investiture, i. 339.
- , lieutenant under the emperor Probus in the East, is driven into rebellion by his troops, i. 390.
- Sauce, punishment inflicted on the inventor of a new sauce if disagreeable to the imperial palate, i. 200, *note*.
- Saxons, ancient, an account of, ii. 441. Their piratical confederations, 442. Their invasions of Gaul checked by the Romans, 443. How converted to Christianity, iii. 284. Descent of the Saxons in Britain, 343. Their brutal desolation of the country, 356. Their relations with Charlemagne, iv. 292, 293.
- Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, his history, v. 401, 402, *notes*.
- Scatinian law of the Romans, account of, iii. 714.
- Seaurus, the patrician family of, how reduced under the emperors, ii. 35, *note*.
- Schism in religion, the origin of, traced, i. 521.
- Science reducible to four classes, iv. 519.
- Sclavonians, their national character, iii. 550. Their barbarous inroads on the Eastern empire, 553. Of Dalmatia, account of, iv. 513.
- Scots and Picts, the nations of, how distinguished, ii. 444. Invasions of Britain by, 446, *note M*. The charge of cannibalism denied by Dr. Parr, 448, *note M*.

- Scythians and Tartars, this name vaguely applied to mixed tribes of Barbarians, i. 271, *note* G. Their pastoral manners, ii. 475. Extent and boundaries of Scythia, 483; *vide note* M. Revolutions of, 666. Their mode of war, iii. 152.
- Sebastian, master-general of the infantry under the emperor Valens, his successful expedition against the Goths, ii. 514. Is killed in the battle of Hadrianople, 518.
- , the brother of the usurper Jovinus, is associated with him in his assumed imperial dignities, iii. 69.
- Sebastocrator, import of that title in the Greek empire, iv. 565.
- Seez, in Norinandy, the bishop and chapter castrated, v. 462, *note*.
- Segostan, the princes of, support their independence obstinately against Artaxerxes, i. 263, *note*.
- Segued, emperor of Abyssinia, converted by the Jesuits, iv. 176.
- Selden, his sententious character of transubstantiation, iv. 248, *note*.
- Selenia, the great city of, ruined by the Romans, i. 266.
- Seleucus Nicator, number of cities founded by him, i. 262, *note*.
- Seljuk, Turkish dynasty of the house of, iv. 703. Division of their empire, 718, *note* M.
- Senate of Rome is reformed by Augustus, i. 110, *note* M. Its legislative and judicial powers, 117. Abortive attempt of, to resume its right after the murder of Caligula, 123. Its legal jurisdiction over the emperors, 151. Is subjected to military despotism by Severus, 178. Women excluded from this assembly by a solemn law, 204. The form of a secret meeting, 233. Measures taken to support the authority of the two Gordians, 234. The senate elect Maximus and Balbinus emperors on the death of the Gordians, 235. They drive the Alamanii out of Italy, 320. The senators forbid to exercise military employments by Gallienus, 321. Most Tacitus, the father of the senate, emperor, 382. Prerogatives gained to the senate by this election, 383. Their power and authority annihilated by Diocletian, 443. Amount of the coronary gold, or anatum, free gift of, to the emperors, ii. 69. The claim of Julian to the empire admitted, 286. Petitions of, to the emperors, for the restoration of the altar of victory, 596. The Pagan religion renounced, 597. Debates of, on the proposals of Alaric the Goth, 632. Genealogy of the senators, iii. 15. Passes a decree for putting to death Serena, the widow of Sullio, 35. Under the influence of Alaric, elects Attalus emperor, 44. Trial of Arvandus, a praetorian praefect of Gaul, 246. Surrenders the sovereign power of Italy to the emperor of the East, 258. Extinction of that illustrious assembly, 622. Restoration of, in the twelfth century, v. 469, 473. The assembly resolved into single magistrates, 478.
- Serapion, his lamentation for the loss of a personified deity, iv. 112.
- Serapis, history of his worship, and of his temple at Alexandria, ii. 603. The temple destroyed, 605.
- Serena, niece of the emperor Theodosius, married to Stilicho, ii. 630. Cruelly strangled by order of the Roman senate, iii. 35.
- Sergeant, legal and military import of that term, v. 143, *note*.
- Serica and Thina, of the ancients, iii. 434, *note* M.
- Severinus, St., encourages Odoacer to assume the dominion of Italy, iii. 257. His body, how disposed of, 260, *note*.
- Severus is declared Cæsar on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, i. 464. His death, 468.
- is appointed general of the cavalry in Gaul under Julian, ii. 147.
- , Septimius, his stone wall between Carlisle and Newcastle, i. 47, *note* M. General of the Pannonian legions, assumes the purple on the death of Pertinax, 164. His conduct towards the Christians, 628.
- Shepherds and warriors, their respective modes of life compared, ii. 476, *note* M.

- Shites, a sect of Mahometans, their distinction from the Sonnites, iv. 387.
- Siberia, extreme coldness of the climate, and miserable state of the natives of, ii. 485. Is seized and occupied by the Tartars, v. 275.
- Sibylline books, in the custody of the Quindecimviri, ii. 593.
- Sicily, reflections on the distractions in that island, i. 341. Is conquered by the Saracens, iv. 528. Introduction of the silk manufacture there, 559. Exploits of the Normans there, 652. Is conquered by Count Roger, 664. Roger, son of the former, made king of, 681. Reign of William the Bad, 690. Reign of William the Good, 690. Conquest of, by the emperor Henry VI., 693. Is subdued by Charles of Anjou, v. 221. The Sicilian Vespers, 225.
- Sidonius Apollinaris, the poet, his humorous treatment of the capitation-tax, ii. 65, *note M*. His character of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, iii. 217. His panegyric on the emperor Avitus, 220. His panegyric on the emperor Anthemius, 230.
- Siganfu, celebrated inscription of, iv. 158, *note*. Its authenticity vindicated, 158, *note M*.
- Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, murders his son, and is canonized, iii. 317. Is overwhelmed by an army of Franks, 317.
- Silontiarus, Paul, his account of the various species of stone and marble employed in the church of St. Sophia, iii. 451, *note*.
 , first manufactured in China, and then in the small Grecian island of Cos, iii. 432. A peculiar kind of silk procured from the pinna marina, 433. The silk-worm, how introduced to Greece, 436. Progress of the manufacture of, in the tenth century, 558.
- Silver and brass, relative value of, i. 52, *note M*.
- Simoon, persecutor of the Paulicians, becomes a proselyte to their opinions, iv. 599.
- , king of Bulgaria, his exploits, iv. 615.
- , Stylites, the hermit, his extraordinary mode of life, iii. 279.
- Sinai, an early instance of, i. 633, *note*.
- Simplicius, one of the last surviving Pagan philosophers of Athens, his writings and character, iii. 470.
- Singara, battle of, between the emperor Constantius and Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 98. The city of, reduced by Sapor, 141. Is yielded to him by Jovian, 395.
- Singerio, brother of Sarus, is made king of the Goths, iii. 73.
- Singidunum taken by Baian, chagan of the Avars, iv. 67.
- Sirinium is perfidiously taken by Baian, iv. 66, 67.
- Siroes deposes and murders his father Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 101, 102, *note M*. His treaty of peace with the emperor Heraclius, 103.
- Sisebut, a Gothic king of Spain, persecutes the Jews there, iii. 302.
- Sixtus V., Pope, character of his administration, v. 539. Leti's life of, 539, *note M*.
- Slave, strange perversion of the original sense of that appellation, iv. 613.
- Slaves among the Romans, who, and their condition described, i. 85. Their amazing number, 85, 86, *note M*. Marriage permitted them for the sake of a progeny of bondsmen, 88, *note M*.
- Slavery, personal, imposed on captives by the barbarous nations, iii. 326.
- Sleepers, Seven, narrative of the legendary tale of, iii. 139.
- Smyrna, capture of, by Tamerlane, v. 317.
- Smyth's, Captain, Catalogue of Medals, *note M*. i. 318. His list of true and doubtful coins of Pretenders to the throne in the reign of Gallienus, 337, *note M*.
- Society, philosophical reflections on the revolutions of, iii. 367.
- Sofarides, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 540.
- Soldiers, Roman, i. 53. Their obligations and discipline, 53. When they first received regular pay, 213.

- Soliman, caliph of the Saracens, undertakes the siege of Constantinople, iv. 406. His enormous appetite and death, 408.
- , Sultan, conquers Asia Minor, iv. 719. Fixes his residence at Nice, 721. Is succeeded by his son David, surnamed Kilidjo Arslan, who destroys the van of the first crusade in the plains of Nice, v. 30, *note* M. Nice taken by the first crusaders, 49. Battle of Dorylaeum, 60.
- , the son of Bajazet, his character, v. 320. Error as to his death, 329, *note* M. His alliance with the Greek emperor Manuel Palæologus, 332.
- Solomon, king of the Jews, not the author of the book which bears the name of his *Wisdom*, ii. 209. Reasons for supposing he did not write either the book of *Ecclesiastes* or the *Proverbs*, iii. 498, *note*; *vide note* M.
- the eunuuch relieves the Roman provinces in Africa from the depredations of the Moors, iii. 502. Revolt of his troops at Carthage, 506. Is defeated and killed by Antalas the Moor, 509, *note* M.
- Sonnites in the Mahometan religion, their tenets, iv. 387.
- Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, beheaded by Constantine the Great on a charge of binding the wind by magic, ii. 239, *note*.
- Sophia, the widow of Justin II., her conspiracy against the emperor Tiberius, iv. 29.
- , St., foundation of the church of, at Constantinople, iii. 449. Its description, 450. Is converted into a mosque, v. 448.
- Sophian the Arab commands the first siege of Constantinople, iv. 403.
- Sophronia, a Roman matron, kills herself to escape the violence of Maxentius, i. 478, *note*.
- Sortes Sanctorum, a mode of Christian divination, adopted from the Pagans, iii. 320, *note*.
- Soul, uncertain opinions of the ancient philosophers as to the immortality of, i. 528. This doctrine more generally received among the barbarous nations, and for what reason, 530. Was not taught by Moses, 536. Presumed reason of his silence on this head, 530, *note* M. Four different prevailing doctrines as to the origin of, iv. 109, *note*.
- Sozopetra destroyed by the Greek emperor Theophilus, iv. 532.
- Spain, the province of, described, i. 62. Great revenues raised from this province by the Romans, 215. Is ravaged by the Franks, 318. Review of the history of, iii. 71. Is invaded by the barbarous nations, 72. The invaders conquered by Wallia, king of the Goths, 74. Success of the Vandals there, 127. Expedition of Theodorice, king of the Visigoths, into, 219. The Christian religion received there, 298. Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild, 299. Persecution of the Jews in, 302. Legislative assemblies of, 346. Acquisitions of Justinian there, 504. State of, under the emperor Charlemagne, iv. 200. First introduction of the Arabs into the country, 470. Defeat and death of Roderic, the Gothic king of, 474, 475. Conquest of, by Musa, 470. Its prosperity under the Saracens, 482. The Christian faith there supplanted by that of Mahomet, 482. The throne of Cordova established by the Omniades, 483. Accession of Abdalrahman, 512.
- Stadium, Olympic, the races of, compared with those in the Roman circus, iii. 422. D'Anville's measure of the Greek stade, ii. 16, *note* M.
- Stauracius, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 198.
- Stephen, a freedman of Domitilla, assassinates the emperor Domitian, i. 608, *note* M.
- , count of Chartres, his character, and engagement in the first crusade, v. 33. Deserts his standard, 57.
- , St., the first Christian martyr, miraculous discovery of his body, and the miracles worked by it, ii. 616.
- the Savage sent by the Greek emperor Justinian II. to exterminate the Chersonites, iv. 190.

- Stephen III., Pope, solicits the aid of Pepin, king of France, against the Lombards, under the character of St. Peter, iv. 270. Crowns King Pepin, 272.
- Sullicho, the great general of the Western empire under the emperor Honorius, his character, ii. 629. Put to death Rufinus, the tyrannical præfect of the East, 633. His expedition against Alario in Greece, 650. His diligent endeavours to check his progress in Italy, 656. Defeats Alario at Pollentia, 658. Drives him out of Italy, 660. His triumph at Rome, 662. His preparations to oppose the invasion of Radagaisus, 669. Reduces and puts him to death, 672. Supports the claims of Alario in the Roman senate, 682. Is put to death at Ravenna, 685, 686. His memory persecuted, 686.
- Stoza heads the revolted troops of the emperor Justinian in Africa, iii. 597. His death related variously, 597, *note M.*
- Strasburg, battle of, between Julian and the Allemanni, ii. 149.
- Stukely, Dr., *Medallie History of Carausius* by, i. 421, *note.*
- Successianus defends the Roman frontier against the Goths, i. 324.
- Suevi, the origin and renown of, i. 319, 320, *note M.*
- Suicide applauded and pitied by the Romans, iii. 719.
- Suiones or Sitones, the, distinguished from the Suavi, i. 284, *note M.*
- Sulpicius, Servius, was the highest improver of the Roman jurisprudence, iii. 665.
- Sultan, origin and import of this title of Eastern sovereignty, iv. 697, *note.*
- Sumnat, description of the Pagoda of, in Guzarat, and its destruction by the sultan Mahmud, iv. 608.
- Sun, the worship of, introduced at Rome by the emperor Elagabalus, i. 199. Was the peculiar object of the devotion of Constantine the Great before his conversion, ii. 161. And of Julian after his apostasy, 317.
- Surgas, Persian general, a family name, not a title, if. 367, *note M.*
- Susa, the city of, taken by Constantine the Great, i. 481.
- Swtoslanus, czar of Russia, his reign, iv. 685.
- Swiss cantons, the confederacy of, how far similar to that of the ancient Franks, i. 317.
- Sword of Mars, the sacred weapon of the Huns, history of, iii. 146.
- Syagrius, king of the Franks and Burgundians, his character, iii. 308. Is conquered by Clovis, 309.
- Sylla, the dictator, his legislative character, iii. 712.
- Syllanus, the consul, his speech to the senate recommending the election of the two Gordians to their approbation, i. 233.
- Sylvania, sister of the præfect Rufinus, her sanctity, ii. 634, *note.*
- Sylvanus, general in Gaul under Constantius, is ruined by treachery, ii. 128. Assumes the purple at Cologne, 129. His death, 129.
- Sylverius, Pope, is degraded and sent into exile by Belisarius for an attempt to betray the city of Rome to the Goths, iii. 525, 526, *note M.* His death, 602, *note.*
- Symmachus, his account of the Pagan conformity of the emperor Constantius, during his visit to Rome, ii. 266. Pleads in behalf of the ancient Pagan religion of Rome to the emperor Valentinian, 595.
- Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, excommunicates the president Andronicus, ii. 196. His extraordinary character, 196, *note.* His advice to the Eastern emperor Arcadius, 651.
- Synods, provincial, in the primitive churches, institution of, i. 555, *notes M.* and G. Nature of those assemblies, ii. 194. See Councils.
- Syria, its revolutions and extent, i. 67. Is reduced by Chosroes II., king of Persia, iv. 80. General description of, 431. Is conquered by the Saracens, 434. Invasion of, by Tamerlane, v. 312.
- Syriac language, where spoken in the greatest purity, i. 265, *note.*

Syrianus, duke of Egypt, surprises the city of Alexandria, and expels Athanasius, the primate of Egypt, ii. 248.

T.

TABARI, the Arabian historian, account of his work, iv. 406, *note*.

Tabenne, the island of, in Upper Thebais, is settled with monks by Pachomius, iii. 266.

Table of emerald in the Gothic treasury in Spain, account of, iii. 63.

Tacitus, Emperor, his election and character, i. 382.

— the historian, his character of the principles of the Portico, i. 129, *note*. The intention of his episodes, 251. His character as an historian, 272. His account of the ancient Germans, 272; *note* M. 278. Of the massacre of the Bruteri, 294, *note* G. His history, how preserved and transmitted down to us, 382, *note*. His account of the persecution of the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, 600.

Tactics of Leo and Constantine, character of, iv. 551, *note* M. Military character of the Greeks, 576.

Tagina, battle of, between the eunuch Narses and Totila, king of the Goths in Italy, iii. 620.

Taherites, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 540.

Tamerlane, his birth, reign, and conquests, v. 209, 300, *note* M. His first adventures, 301, 302, *note* M. His letter to Bajazet, 310. Inquiry as to its authenticity, *note* M. 310. His conference with the doctors of the law at Aleppo, 312. Defeats and takes Bajazet prisoner, 315, 316. How kept out of Europe, 321. His triumph at Samarcand, 323. Dies on a march to China, 325. His character, 325.

Tancred the crusader, his character, v. 35. His gallant behavior at Constantinople, 44. His conduct at Jerusalem, 64.

Tarachus, the sufferings of, and other Christians, i. 657, *notes* M.

Tarasius, secretary to the empress Irene, made patriarch of Constantinople, iv. 280. Presides at, and frames the decrees of, the second council of Nice, 280.

Tarik the Arab, his descent on Spain, iv. 473. Defeats and kills Roderic, king of the Goths, 474. His disgrace, 478.

Tarragona, the city of, almost destroyed by the Franks, i. 318.

Tartars. See Scythians.

Tartary, Eastern, conquest of, by Tamerlane, v. 305.

Tatian, and his son Proculus, destroyed by the base arts of Rufinus, the confidential minister of the emperor Theodosius, ii. 623.

Taurus the consul, ii. 285. Banished by the tribunal of Chalcedon, 296.

Taxes, how the Roman citizens were exonerated from the burden of, i. 214. Account of those instituted by Augustus, 217. Freedom of Rome given to all provincials by Caracalla for the purpose of taxation, 220, 221, or by M. Aurelius, 221, *note* W. Consequences of this measure, 221. How raised under Constantine the Great and his successors, ii. 60, *note* M.; 65, *note* M. Capitation-tax, 65, *note* M.; iii. 441.

Tayef, siege of, by Mahomet, iv. 371.

Telas, the last king of the Goths, defeated and killed by the eunuch Narses, iii. 623.

Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, loses his life at Rome in an attempt to prevent the combat of the gladiators, ii. 663; *vide note* M.

Temple of Jerusalem burned, i. 605. History of the emperor Julian's attempt to restore it, ii. 328.

Temugin. See Zingis.

Tephree is occupied and fortified by the Paulicians, iv. 600.

Tertullian, his pious exultation in the expected damnation of all the pagan world, i. 537. Criticisms on the Latin passage, and Gibbon's transla-

- tion, 537, *notes* G. and M. Suggests desertion to Christian soldiers, 550, *note*. Critical inquiry as to his real meaning, 550, *notes* G. and M. His suspicious account of two edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus in favor of the Christians, 528.
- Testaments, the Roman laws for regulating, iii. 700, *Codicals*, 702.
- Tetricus assumes the empire in Gaul at the instigation of Victoria, i. 362. Betrays his legions into the hands of Aurelian, 363. Is led in triumph by Aurelian, 373.
- Teutonic languages, the cycle of poetry relating to Attila the Hun in the, iii. 167, 108, *note* M.
- Thabor, Mount, dispute concerning the light of, v. 252.
- Thanet, the island of, granted by Vortigern as a settlement for his Saxon auxiliaries, iii. 349.
- Theatrical entertainments of the Romans described, iii. 31.
- Theban legion, the martyrdom of, apocryphal, i. 539, *note*.
- Theft, the Roman laws relating to, iii. 706, 711.
- Themes, or military governments, of the Greek empire, account of, iv. 553.
- Themistius the orator, his encomium on religious toleration, ii. 407.
- Theodatus, his birth and elevation to the throne of Italy, iii. 508. His disgraceful treaties with the emperor Justinian, and revolt against them, 511, 512. His deposition and death, 515.
- Theodebert, king of the Franks in Austrasia, joins the Goths in the siege and destruction of Milan, 532. Invades Italy, 533. His death, 534.
- Termini, the ancient, the savages of Scythia compared to, ii. 496.
- Theodemir, a Gothic prince of Spain, copy of his treaty of submission to the Saracens, iv. 479.
- Theodora, Empress, her birth, and early history, iii. 416. Her marriage with Justinian, 419. Her tyranny, 420. Her virtues, 421. Her death, 422. Her fortitude during the Nika sedition, 429. Account of her palace and gardens of Heraum, 454. Her pious concern for the conversion of Nubia, 472.
- , wife of the Greek emperor Theophilus, her history, iv. 204. Restored the worship of images, 281. Provokes the Paulicians to rebellion, 600.
- , daughter of the Greek emperor Constantine IX., her history, iv. 220, 222.
- , widow of Baldwin III., king of Jerusalem, her adventures as the concubine of Andronicus Comnenus, iv. 239.
- Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, seizes the emperor Peter of Courtenay, v. 180. Possesses himself of Thessalonica, 181.
- Theodoric, the son of Alaric, his prosperous reign over the Visigoths in Gaul, iii. 177. Unhappy fates of his daughters, 179, 180. Is prevailed on by Aëtius to join his forces against Attila, 188. Is killed at the battle of Chalons, 191.
- II., iii. 216. Acquires the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his brother Torismond, 216. His character by Sidonius, 217. His expedition into Spain, 219.
- the Ostrogoth, his birth and education, iii. 374, 375, *notes* M. Is forced by his troops into a revolt against the emperor Zeno, 378. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 380. Reduces and kills Odoacer, 382, 383. Is acknowledged king of Italy, 383. Review of his administration, 384. Assigns a third of the lands of Italy to his soldiers, 384; *vide note* M. His visit to Rome, and care of the public buildings, 393, 394, *note* M. His religion, 397. His remorse and death, 406, 407.
- , son of Triarius, iii. 379.
- Theodosian code, recovery of the first five books of the, iii. 670, *note* W.
- Theodosiopolis, the city of, in Armenia, built, iii. 118.
- Theodosius the Great, his distinction between a Roman prince and a Parthian monarch, ii. 70, *note*. The province of Mæsia preserved by his valor,

468. Is associated by Gratian as emperor of the East, 526. His birth and character, 526. His prudent and successful conduct of the Gothic war, 529. Defeats an invasion of the Ostrogoths, 533. His treaty with Maximus, 544. His baptism, and edict to establish orthodox faith, 545. Purges the city of Constantinople from Arianism, 551. Enforces the Nicene doctrine throughout the East, 552. Convenes a council at Constantinople, 553. His edicts against heresy, 556. Receives the fugitive family of Valentinian, and marries his sister Galla, 568. Defeats Maximus, and visits Rome, 569, 570. His character, 570. His lenity to the city of Antioch, 573. His cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 576. Submits to the penance imposed by St. Ambrose for his severity to Thessalonica, 579. Restores Valentinian, 581. Consults John of Lycopolis, the hermit, on the intended war against Eugenius, 585. Defeats Eugenius, 587. His death 589. Procures a senatorial renunciation of the Pagan religion, 597. Abolishes Pagan rites, 599. Prohibits the Pagan religion, 608.
- Theodosius the younger, his birth, iii. 107. Is said to be left by his father Arcadius to the care of Jazdegerd, king of Persia, 108. His education and character, 112. His marriage with Eudocia, 113. His war with Persia, 116. His pious joy on the death of John, the usurper of the West, 123. His treaty with the Huns, 143. His armies defeated by Attila, 151. Is reduced to accept a peace dictated by Attila, 156. Is oppressed by the embassies of Attila, 159. Embassy of Maximin to Attila, 160. Is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, 170. Attila's embassy to him on that occasion, 170. His death, 171. His perplexity at the religious feuds between Cyril and Nestorius, iv. 126. Banishes Nestorius, 129.
- III., emperor of Constantinople, iv. 101.
- , the father of the emperor, his successful expedition to Britain, ii. 443. Is received by the citizens of London, and publishes an edict, 449. Suppresses the revolt of Firmus the Moor, in Africa, 452. Is beheaded at Carthage, 454.
- , patriarch of Alexandria, his competition with Gaius, how decided, iv. 138. His negotiations at the court of Constantinople, 170.
- the deacon, grandson of the emperor Herculius, murdered by his brother Constant II., iv. 184.
- , the lover of Antonina, detected by Delsarius, iii. 540. Turns monk to escape her, 541. His death, 543. Misrepresentation respecting it, 542, *note M*.
- Theodotus, president of the council of Hierapolis under Constantius, his ridiculous flattery to that emperor, ii. 287.
- Theophano, wife of the Greek emperor Romanus II., poisons both him and his father, iv. 215. Her connection with Nicephorus Phocas, 216. His murder, and her exile, 217, 218.
- Theophilus, emperor of Constantinople, iv. 202. His Amorian war with the caliph Motassem, 522, 523.
- , archbishop of Alexandria, destroys the temple of Serapis and the Alexandrian library, ii. 604, 606. Assists the persecution of St. Chrysostom, iii. 103.
- , his pious embassy from Constantius to the East Indies and to Abyssinia, ii. 184, *note*, and *note M*.
- Theophobus the Persian, his unfortunate history, iv. 203.
- Therapeutæ, or Essenians, some account of, i. 573.
- Thermopylæ, the Straits of, fortified by the emperor Justinian, iii. 456.
- Thessalonica, sedition and massacre there, ii. 576. Cruel treatment of the citizens, 577. Penances of Theodosius for this severity, 579.
- Theudelinda, princess of Bavaria, married to Autharis, king of the Lombards, iv. 39.

- Thibaut, count of Champagne, engages in the fourth crusade, v. 130.
- Thomas the Cappadocian, his revolt against the Greek emperor Michael II. and cruel punishment, iv. 201.
- of Damascus, his exploits against the Saracens when besieging that city, iv. 424.
- , St., account of the Christians of, in India, iv. 150. Persecution of them by the Portuguese, 180, 181, *note M*.
- Thrace is colonized by the Bastarnæ in the reign of Probus, i. 395. The fugitive Goths permitted to settle there by the emperor Valens, ii. 500. Is ravaged by them, 506. The Goths settled there by Theodosius, 534.
- Thrashmund, king of the Vandals, his character, iii. 289.
- Three Chapters, the famous dispute concerning the, iv. 146.
- Thundering Legion, the story concerning, of suspicious veracity, i. 627.
- Tiberius is adopted by Augustus, i. 126. His administration of the laws, 132. Reduces Cappadocia, 218, *note*. Suspicious story of his edict in favor of the Christians, 626.
- is invested by Justin II. as his successor in the empire of the East, iv. 27. His character and death, 29, 30.
- Timasius, master-general of the army under the emperor Theodosius, iii. 89. Is disgraced and exiled under Arcadius, 90.
- Timothy the Oat conspires the murder of Proterius, archbishop of Alexandria, and succeeds him, iv. 137.
- Tipasa, miraculous gift of speech bestowed on the Catholics there, whose tongues had been cut out, iii. 297.
- Tiridates, king of Armenia, his character and history, i. 420. Is restored to his kingdom by Diocletian, 429. Is expelled by the Persians, 432. Is restored again by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 439. His conversion to Christianity, and death, ii. 95; *vide note M*.
- Tithae assigned to the clergy as well by Zoroaster as by Moses, i. 280, *note*. Were first granted to the church by Charlemagne, iv. 289.
- Tiths admitted to share the imperial dignity with his father Vespasian, i. 125.
- Togrul Beg, sultan of the Turks, his reign and character, iv. 704. He rescues the caliph of Bagdad from his enemies, 705.
- Toledo taken by the Arabs under Tarik, iv. 475.
- Tolerance, universal, its happy effects in the Roman empire, i. 73. Restrictions therein, 78, *note W*. What sects the most intolerant, 261, *notes M*.
- Tollus, objections to his account of the vision of Antigonus, ii. 173, *note*.
- Tongues, the gift of, i. 538, *note M*.
- Torismond, son of Theodorie, king of the Visigoths, attends his father against Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 138. Battle of Chalons, 192. Is acknowledged king on the death of his father in the field, 193. Is killed by his brother Theodorie, 215.
- Torture, how admitted in the criminal law of the Romans under the emperors, ii. 58.
- Totila is elected king of Italy by the Goths, iii. 601. His justice and moderation, 603. Besieges and takes the city of Rome, 605, 608. Is induced to spare Rome from destruction at the instance of Belisarius, 610. Takes Rome again, 614. Plunders Sicily, 615. Battle of Tagina, 620. His death, 621, *note M*.
- Toulunides, the Saracen dynasty of, iv. 541.
- Tournaments preferable exhibitions to the Olympic Games, v. 37.
- Tours, battle of, between Charles Martel and the Saracens, iv. 507.
- Toxandria in Germany is overrun and occupied by the Franks, ii. 144.
- Traditors in the primitive church, i. 646.
- Trajan, Emperor, his conquest of Dacia, i. 48. His conquests in the East, 49.

- Contrast between the characters of him and Hadrian, 50. His pillar described, 90. Why adopted by the emperor Nerva, 124. His instructions to Pliny the Younger for his conduct towards the Christians, 308. Description of his famous bridge over the Danube, iii. 455, *note*.
- Trajan, Count, his treacherous murder of Parth, king of Armenia, ii. 461.
- Transubstantiation, the doctrine of, when established, v. 107.
- Trebatius, a juriconsult patronized by Cicero, opinions of, iii. 666. Error with regard to, 668, *note* W.
- Trebizond, the city of, taken and plundered by the Goths, i. 324. Antiquity of, 324, *note* M. The dukes of, become independent of the Greek empire, v. 170, *note* M. Is yielded to the Turks by David, its last emperor, 451, 452, *notes* M.
- Tribigild the Ostrogoth, his rebellion in Phrygia against the emperor Arcadius, iii. 92.
- Tribonian, his genius and character, iii. 671. Is employed by Justinian to reform the code of Roman laws, 673. The Anti-Tribonians, 646, *note* W.
- Tribune, the office of, explained, i. 115, 116, *note* M; 116.
- Trinity, the mysterious doctrine of, ii. 218. Is violently agitated in the schools of Alexandria, 218. Three systems of, 218. Decisions of the council of Nice concerning, 220. Different forms of the Doxology, 264. Frauds used to support the doctrine of, iii. 295.
- Tripoli, the confederacy of, cruelly oppressed under the government of Count Romanus, ii. 450.
- Trisagion, religious war concerning, iv. 139.
- Troops, Roman, their discipline, i. 53. When they first received pay, 213. Cause of the difficulty in levying them, ii. 40. See Jovians, Palatines, and Prætorian Bands.
- Troy, the situation of that city and of the Grecian camp of besiegers described, ii. 17.
- Tudela, Benjamin of, the genuineness of his travels called into doubt, iv. 500, *note* M.
- Turin, battle of, between Constantine the Great and the Houtonants of Maximian, i. 482.
- Turaisund, king of the Gepids, his honorable reception of Alboin the Lombard, who had slain his son in battle, iv. 17.
- Turks, their origin, iii. 555, *note* M. Their primitive institutions, 557. Their conquest, 558. Their alliance with the emperor Justinian, 560. Send auxiliaries to Heraclius, iv. 98. Grow powerful and Neontious under the Saracens, 535. Terror excited by their menacing Europe, 616. Their military character, 620. They extend themselves over Asia, 690. Reign of Mahmud the Gaznevide, 696. Their manners and emigration, 701. They subdue Persia, 703. Dynasty of the Seljukians, 703. They invade the provinces of the Greek empire, 707. Reformation of the Eastern calendar, 717. They conquer Asia Minor, 719. Their capital city, Nice, taken by the crusaders, v. 49. The seat of government removed to Iconium, 77. Valor and conquests of Zenghi, 88. Character of Sultan Noureddin, 88. Conquest of Egypt, 89. Origin and history of the Ottomans, 280. Their first passage into Europe, 284. Their money, the value of the asper, 333, *note*, and *note* M. Their education and discipline, 336. Embassy from, to the emperor Sigismund, 357. Take the city of Constantinople, 440.
- Turpin, Archbishop, the romance of, by whom and when written, v. 17, *note*.
- Twelve Tables, review of the laws of, iii. 649, *note* M. Their severity, 708. How the criminal code of, sank into disuse, 711.
- Two Principles, the, in Persian theology, i. 256, 257, *note* G.; 258, *note* G.
- Tyrants of Rome, the popular conceit of the thirty, investigated, i. 337, *note* M.
- Tyre is besieged by Saladin, v. 99.

U.

UKRAINE, description of that country, i. 307.

Uldin, king of the Huns, reduces and kills Gainas the Goth, iii. 99. Is driven back by the vigilance of the imperial ministers, 109.

Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths, his pious labors, iii. 282. His Moeso-Gothic alphabet, 282, *note* M. Propagated Arianism, 287.

Ulpian the lawyer placed at the head of the council of state, under the emperor Alexander Severus, i. 205. Is murdered by the prætorian guards, 209; *vide note* W.

Uppsal, anciently famous for its Gothic temple, i. 301.

Urban II., Pope, patronizes Peter the Hermit, in his project for recovering the Holy Land, v. 14. Exhorts the people to a crusade, at the council of Clermont, 18. His secret motives for it, 41, *note* M.

— V. is visited by John Palæologus, v. 344. Removes the papal court from Avignon to Rome, 523.

— VI., Pope, his disputed election, v. 525.

Ursacius, master of the offices under the emperor Valentinian, occasions a revolt of the Allemanni by his parsimony, ii. 435.

Ursicinus, a Roman general, his treacherous conduct to Sylvanus in Gaul, ii. 120. Is superseded in his command over the Eastern provinces, 142. Is sent back again to conduct the war with Persia under Sabinian, 142. Is again disgraced, 142.

Ursini, history of the Roman family of, v. 493, 495, *note*, 507, 538.

Ursulus, treasurer of the empire under Constantius, unjustly put to death by the tribunal of Chalcædon, ii. 296.

Usury. See Interest of Money.

V.

VANDALIA, prince of the Allemanni, is sent prisoner to Spain by the emperor Julian, ii. 270. His son murdered by the Romans, 437.

Valens, general of the Illyrian frontier, receives the title of Cæsar from Licinius, i. 495. Loses his new title and his life, 496.

—, the brother of the emperor Valentinian, is associated with him in the empire, ii. 412. Obtains from his brother the Eastern portion of the empire, 413. His timidity on the revolt of Procopius, 417. His character, 422. Is baptized by Eudoxus, and patronizes the Arians, 427. Is vindicated from the charge of persecution, 429. His edict against the Egyptian monks, 430. His war with the Goths, 495. Receives the suppliant Goths into the Roman territories, 500. His war with them, 508. Is defeated and killed at the battle of Hadrianople, 517. His eulogium by Libanius, 518.

—, the Arian bishop of Mursa, his crafty pretensions to divine revelation, ii. 231.

Valentia, a new province in Britain, settled by Theodosius, ii. 449.

Valentinian I., his election to the empire, and character, ii. 409, 410. Associates his brother Valens with him, 412. Divides the empire into the *East* and *West*, and retains the latter, 413. His cruelty, 423. His civil institutions, 424. His edicts to restrain the avarice of the clergy, 431. Chastises the Allemanni and fortifies the Rhine, 437, 438. His expedition to Illyricum, and death, 469, 470. Is vindicated from the charge of polygamy, 470.

— II. is invested with the imperial ornaments in his mother's arms, on the death of his father, ii. 471. Is refused by St. Ambrose the privilege of a church for him and his mother Justina, on account of their Arian principles, 561. His flight from the invasion of Maximus, 566. Is restored by the emperor Theodosius, 581. His character, 582. His death, 583.

- Valentinian III. is established emperor of the West by his cousin Theodosius the Younger, iii. 124. Is committed to the guardianship of his mother Placidia, 125. Flies on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 199. Sends an embassy to Attila to purchase his retreat, 200. Murders the patrician Aëtius, 204. Ravishes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 206. His death and character, 206.
- Valentinians, their confused ideas of the divinity of Jesus Christ, iv. 113, *note*.
- Valeria, Empress, widow of Galerius, the unfortunate fate of her and her mother, i. 491.
- Valerian is elected censor under the emperor Decius, i. 310. His elevation to the empire, and his character, 315. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, 332. His treatment, 334, 335, *note M*. His inconsistent behavior towards the Christians, 332.
- Vandals and Goths originally one people, i. 304. This opinion controverted, 304, *note G*. See Goths. Their successes in Spain, iii. 127. Their expedition into Africa under Genseric, 128. They raise a naval force, and invade Italy, 209. Sack of Rome by, 213. Their naval depredations on the coast of the Mediterranean, 234. Their conversion to the Christian religion, 284. Persecution of the Catholics, 288, 289. Expedition of Belisarius against Gellimer, 481. Conquest of, 493. Their name and distinction lost in Africa, 499, 509. Remains of their nation still found in Germany, 500.
- Varanes. See Bahram.
- Varangians of the north, origin and history of, iv. 627.
- Varchonites, the, subdued by the Turks, iii. 558, *note M*.
- Varna, battle of, between the sultan Amurath II. and Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, v. 397.
- Varronian, the infant son of the emperor Jovian, history of, ii. 409.
- Vasag, general of Arsaces Tiranus, hayed by King Sapor, ii. 457, *note M*.
- Vataces, John, his long and prosperous reign at Nice, v. 181, 187. His character, 203.
- Vegetius, his remarks on the degeneracy of the Roman discipline at the time of Theodosius the Great, ii. 591.
- Veii, the siege of that city the era of the Roman army first receiving regular pay, i. 213. Site and ruins of, 213, *note M*.
- Venice, foundation of that republic, iii. 197, 198, *note G*. Its infant state under the exarchs of Ravenna, iv. 84. Its growth and prosperity at the time of the fourth crusade, v. 131, 133, *note M*. Alliance with France, 134. Divides the Greek empire with the French, 163.
- Veratius, his mode of obeying the law of the twelve tables respecting personal insults, iii. 707.
- Verina, Empress, the widow of Leo, deposes Zeno, iii. 376. Her turbulent life, 377.
- Verona, siege of, by Constantine the Great, i. 483. Battle of, between Stilicho, the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, ii. 661.
- Verris, why his punishment was inadequate to his offences, iii. 711.
- Vespasian, his prudence in sharing the imperial dignity with his son Titus, i. 125.
- Vestals, Roman, their number and peculiar office, ii. 593.
- Vetricio, the Roman general in Illyricum, assumes the purple, and enters into an alliance with the Gaulish usurper Magnentius, ii. 104. Is reduced to abdicate his new dignity, 107.
- Victoria exercises the government over the legions and province of Gaul, i. 362.
- Victory, her statue and altar, in the senate house at Rome, described, ii. 594. The senate petitions the Christian emperors to have it restored, 595.

- Vigilantius the prosbyter is abused by St. Jerome for opposing monkish superstition, ii. 615, *note*.
- Vigilius, interpreter to the embassy from Theodosius the Younger to Attila, is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, iii. 169. Is detected by Attila, 170.
- purchases the papal chair of Belisarius and his wife, iii. 526. Instigates Justinian to resume the conquest of Italy, 615.
- Vine, its progress, from the time of Homer, i. 102, 103, *notes M. and W.*
- Virgil, his fourth eclogue interpreted into a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, ii. 178. Is the most ancient writer who mentions the manufacture of silk, iii. 432.
- Vitalian, the Gothic chief, is treacherously murdered at Constantinople, iii. 411.
- Vitalianus, prætorian præfect under the emperor Maximin, put to death by order of the senate, i. 233.
- Vitellius, Emperor, his character, i. 131, *note*.
- Victorinus, successor of Posthumus, i. 362. His death and character, 362.
- Viterbo, battle of, v. 482.
- Vitiges, general of the barbarians under Theodatus, king of Italy, is by his troops declared king of Italy, iii. 515. He besieges Belisarius in Rome, 517. Is forced to raise the siege, 529. He is besieged by Belisarius in Ravenna, 535. Is taken prisoner in Ravenna, 537. Conforms to the Athanasian faith, and is honorably settled in Asia, 537. His embassy to Chosroes, king of Persia, 572.
- Vitruvius, the architect, his remarks on the buildings of Rome, iii. 33.
- Visier, derivation of that appellation, iv. 355, *note*.
- Vaconian law abolished the right of female inheritance, iii. 702. How evaded, 702.
- Voltairæ prefers the labarum of Constantine to the angel of Licinius, ii. 173, *note*. His reflections on the expenses of a siege, iii. 370, *note*.
- Votigorn, king of South Britain, his invitation of the Saxons for assistance against his enemies, iii. 348, *note*.
- Vouti, emperor of China, his exploits against the Huns, ii. 489.

W.

- WALLACHIANS, the present, descendants from the Roman settlers in ancient Dacia, i. 356, *note*.
- Wales settled by British refugees from Saxon tyranny, iii. 353. The bards of, 359.
- Wallia is chosen king of the Goths, iii. 74. He reduces the barbarous invaders of Spain, 75. Is settled in Aquitain, 75.
- Walter the Penniless, a leader in the first crusade, marches through Hungary, v. 27, 29.
- War and robbery, their difference, iv. 326. Evolutions and military exercise of the Greeks, 577, 578. Military character of the Saracens, 580. Of the Franks and Latins, 582.
- Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, his literary character, ii. 328, *note*. His labors to establish the miraculous interruption to Julian's building the temple of Jerusalem, 331, 332, *notes*; *vide notes G. and M.*
- Werdan, the Greek general, defeated by the Saracens at Ainsadin, iv. 422, *note M.*
- Wenk, Mr., German edition of "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" by, incomplete, *vide* Editor's Preface, vol. 1., p. 17. His valuable notes added to the present edition and marked W.
- What, the average price of, under the successors of Constantine the Great, ii. 355, *note*.

- Whitaker, Mr., remarks on his account of the Irish descent of the Scottish nation, ii. 446, *note*.
 White, Mr., Arabic professor at Oxford, character of his sermons at Bampton's lecture, iv. 506, *note*.
 Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, his benevolent establishment at Selsey, iii. 368.
 William I., the Bad, king of Sicily, iv. 600.
 William II., the Good, king of Sicily, iv. 601.
 Windmills, the use of, from whence derived, v. 192.
 Wine, the use of, expressly prohibited by Mahomet, iv. 350.
 Wisdom of Solomon, when and by whom that book was written, ii. 209.
 Wolodimir, great prince of Russia, iv. 639. Marries Anne, daughter of the emperor Romanus, 573. His conversion to Christianity, 639.
 Women, in hereditary monarchies, allowed to exercise sovereignty, though incapable of subordinate state offices, i. 204. Opinion of, by Metellus Numidicus, 204, *note*. How treated by the Roman civil laws, iii. 686.
 The Voconian law, how evaded, 702. Are not excluded from paradise by Mahomet, iv. 364.

X.

- XENOPHON, his description of the desert of Mesopotamia, ii. 306.
 Xerxes, the situation of his bridge of boats for passing over to Europe pointed out, ii. 16, *note* M.

Y.

- YALULOUSSY, the mandarin, patriotism and virtues of, iii. 162, *notes*; v. 276, *note* M.
 Yemen, or Arabia Felix, iv. 316, *note* M. Conquered by Nushirvan, who places a Homerite prince on the throne, iv. 51, *note* M.
 Yermuk, battle of, between the Greeks and the Saracens, iv. 334; *vide note* M.
 Yozdegord, king of Persia, iv. 407. His reign the era of the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and of the religion of Zoroaster, 407; *vide note* M.
 His flight to Farsistan, 411.
 Yezid, caliph of the Saracens, iv. 392.

Z.

- ZABERGAN invades the Eastern empire with an army of Bulgarians, iii. 639, *note* M. Is repulsed by Belisarius, 632.
 Zachary, Pope, pronounces the deposition of Childeric, king of France, and the appointment of Pepin to succeed him, iv. 272.
 Zano, brother of Gelimer, the Vandal usurper, conquers Sardinia, ii. 490. His letters intercepted, 490, *note* M. Is recalled to assist his brother, 490. Is killed, 492.
 Zara, a city on the Slavonian coast, reduced by the crusaders for the republic of Venice, v. 136, 137.
 Zendavesta, the, or book of the Ghebers, i. 254; *vide note* M; 256, *note* G; 257, *note* G; 268, *note* M; iv. 485, *note* M.
 Zenghi, Sultan, his valor and conquests, v. 88.
 Zeno, emperor of the East, receives a surrender of the imperial government of the Western empire from the senate of Rome, iii. 258. The vicissitudes of his life and reign, 376. His character, 377, *note* M. His "Henoticon," iv. 138.
 Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, her character and history, i. 364, 370, 378.
 Zingis, first emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, parallel between him and Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 145. His inhuman proposal for improving his conquests in China, 162. His birth and early military exploits, v. 261, *note* M. His laws, 262. Establishes a system of religion, 262, *note*

- M. His invasion of China, 265. Of Carlisme, Transoxiana, and Persia, 266. His death, 268, *note* M.
- Nizai, a noble Sarmatian, is made king of that nation by the emperor Constantius, ii. 184.
- Zobior, the Saracen, his bravery in the invasion of Africa, iv. 461.
- Zoe, the concubine and afterwards fourth wife of the emperor Leo the philosopher, iv. 212.
- , wife of the emperors Romanus III. and Michael IV., iv. 220.
- Zoroaster, the Persian prophet, his high antiquity, i. 254, 255, *note*, and *note* M. Abridgment of his theology, 256, 257, *notes* G. and M.; 257, 258, *note* M. Provides for the encouragement of agriculture, 259, *note* M. Assigns tithes to the priests, 260, *note*; *vide note* M.
- Zosimus, his representation of the oppression of the lustral contribution, ii. 68.
- Zuinglius the Reformer, his conceptions of the Eucharist, iv. 607.
- Zurich, brief history of that city, v. 466.

THE END.

